and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking. As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[37]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic, and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform.

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37. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

596 Until it was completed in any area, no alternate
575 organization to the family existed to assume its
668 socio-economic role. This fact seems to ex-
871 plain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their marriage law campaign in the countryside to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children who might otherwise be free of the constant direct influence of the government. These two groups were absorbed respectively into the All-China Democratic Federation of Women and into the Young Pioneers, the Federation of Democratic Youth, and the New Democratic Youth Corps.

596 Aside from its primary role as a unit for
668 procreation and for child-care until the young
871 reached an age when they would prove adaptable to molding by the state, the family was left only with the secondary duty of supporting the state training process. An editorial in the People's Daily in mid-1955 pointed out the "deep solic- of the government toward children, made manifest by the establishment of nurseries and schools and the teaching of proper attitudes toward children and the correct methods for educating them. "The new Socialist generation" was to be brought up "physically strong, courageous, honest, fond of study, patriotic, and imbued with collective spirit." The editorial also stated that trade unions were to help office

employees and workers to learn how to educate their children" Teachers and directors of the Young Pioneers were to assume the "important responsibility" of guiding children in classrooms, meetings, and extra-curricular activities.[38]

With the Communist regime's emphases on youth, loyalty to the state, socialist construction, and the rooting out of feudalistic and bourgeois ideas, the problem of the proper attitude of youth toward parents needed clarification. An article on the subject in the January 1955 issue of China Youth emphasizes that "respect for one's parents is part of ...individual or social Communist morals," but the attitude "must be governed by the interests of the Revolution." If the parents are counterrevolutionaries who have been pardoned by the people and are still able to work, they should be made to Reform-through-labor, and should not be pitied or helped. Only if they are unable to support themselves should they be aided by the children, "for if the children do not support them, then the burden will fall on the state, which is obviously undesirable." As to bourgeois parents, they should normally be shown respect and concern; but if they break the law, "the children should justly and dispassionately examine their crime." Working class parents "should of course be respected, loved, and taken care of." They should not be discriminated against or ridiculed because of the shortcomings

38. Ibid., 1064, pp. 11-13.

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they have inherited from the old regime, but "should be patiently persuaded to see the light."[39]

V. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NORTH CHINA REGION

A. Diverse Influences on Family Life

Several conflicting influences on family organization and function have been present in the North China Region during the last twenty-five years. Until the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the disruptive forces of industrialization and revolutionary ideas on ancient family patterns were less prevalent in the North China Region than in the Central-South and East China regions. Tientsin was the only city in the North China Region where industrialization had made any appreciable headway, and warlord rule in the region had precluded any wide dissemination of new social and political ideas. Olga Lang's study of family trends in China just before the outbreak of the war showed that within comparable socio-economic groups modern tendencies were less apparent in unindustrialized Peiping than in industrialized Tientsin, but that in neither city were modern trends as prevalent as in Shanghai.[40] Sydney Gamble's prewar investigation of the rural area of Ting hsien in Hopei indicated that some modern

39. Ibid., 973, pp. 30-32.
40. Lang, op. cit., pp. 120-327.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 1j,
Sociological Background

EDUCATION

I. BACKGROUND

871 In order to understand the changes brought about by the Communists in the educational system of China, it is necessary to review the background of educational development under the Nationalist regime.

871 Chapter II, Article 11, of the Nationalist
186 Constitution promulgated in 1946 states that the "people have freedom of speech, [freedom for the] pursuit of knowledge, and [freedom of] publication." Article 21 of the same chapter further spells out the principle of education by stating that the "people have the right as well as the duty to receive basic education." Interpretations of these broad principles are found in Chapter XIII, which specifies, among other things, that the purpose of education includes the development of the spirit of nationalism, and that both public and private educational institutions are subject to government supervision according to law.[1]

Nationalist officials singled out two of

1. Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien 1948 [Educational Yearbook of China 1948], Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1948, pp. 23-24.

871 186 the most controversial points for further elaboration. One is the so-called "spirit of nationalism" which the Ministry of Education at Nanking defined as the spirit based on San-min Chu-i, the Three Principles of the People expounded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (See chapter on Political Dynamics in this handbook). Thus a mild reform was adopted as the central theme of the Nationalist philosophy for education. The other controversial point is the extent of government supervision over educational institutions. Official explanation stressed the supervisory function of the government in the system of education and denied that this implied any authoritarian control.[2]

874 212 Under the Nationalist government, efforts were exerted to promote adult education and combat illiteracy. Outstanding records were made by such people as James Yen, (an internationally known promoter of mass education) who organized drives to eradicate illiteracy, and Huang Yen-p'ei, now a member of the Communist central government, who did a great deal for the development of vocational education in China. Since most of these features are discussed in anyone of the numerous books on education in China, it is enough to say here that had it not been for a decade of war, general education in China would have

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2. Ibid., p. 24. For other influential theories on education expounded during World War II in China see Chan-shih Chiao-yü Lun-chi [Discussions on Wartime Education], Shanghai, Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1938.

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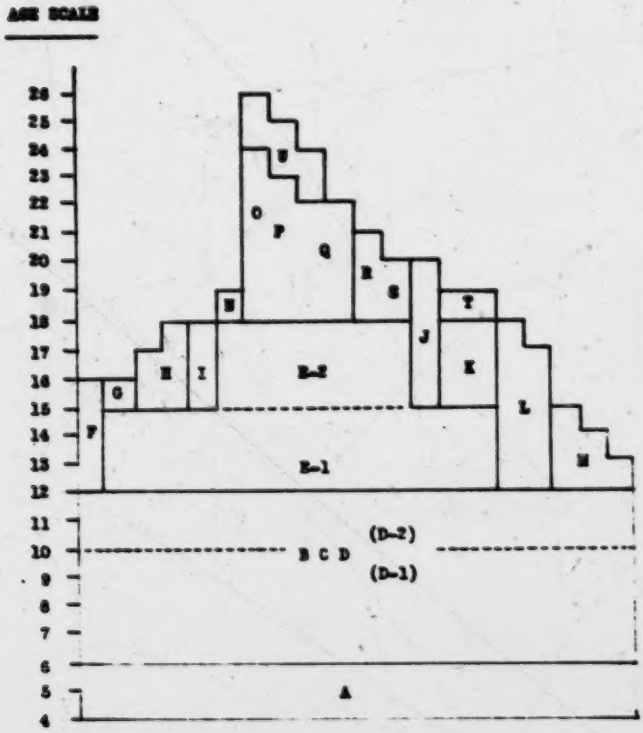
CHART 1. SYSTEM OF EDUCATION UNDER THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT*



*Chung-hua Min-kuo Nien-chien, 1953 [The Yearbook of the Republic of China], Taipei, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1953, p. 491.

[FACING p. 276]

874 been far more developed than it was in 1949 on the
812 eve of the Communist seizure of power.

871 The application of the broad principles of education under the Nationalist government resulted in a system of regular and specialized schooling as pictured in the following chart.

871 As shown in Chart 1, the primary school consists of six grades divided into two levels. For students in rural schools, the first four years of primary school education may constitute an integral unit by itself and may be sufficiently useful if the students have to take up farming or other professions upon the completion of this unit. This feature was later attacked by the Communists as a mark of discrimination against the peasants and workers. But it is to be remembered that at one time the Nationalist Ministry of Education did attempt to revise the primary school system by making it a five-year, one-level system.

Another feature of the Nationalist system of education attacked by the Communists was its failure to establish vocational schools with college standing, thus forcing vocational school graduates to terminate their education at the high school level. While most of the vocational school graduates did not continue their education, the system under the Nationalists did not preclude this possibility. The doors of the colleges were open to such graduates as were qualified for enrollment. The only restrictive factor was that most of the vocational school graduates because of their specialization had to take additional courses in order to fulfill general requirements before they could pass the entrance examination to the regular college.

By 1946, the Nationalist Ministry of Education announced, 54.52 per cent of the nation's population above the age of six either had attended

1:Stanford U. S-4,51956 AF12 North China AF12

871 or were attending school.[3] In 1947, there were 207 institutes of higher learning throughout the country. But this number was unsatisfactory to the government; the Ministry of Education announced that the Central Government devoted only 4.3 per cent[4] of its 1946 budget to education, which is not quite one-third of the amount designated for this purpose by the Constitution.

In North China, 21 schools for higher education were in operation in 1947. Of these only four were technical schools and three were teacher's colleges.[5] The latest pre-Communist figures on education in North China cited in Table I will offer comparison with developments under the Communist regime, to be discussed.

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3. The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483.

4. Chung-hua Nien-chien, 1948 [The China Yearbook, 1948], Nanking, Chung-hua nien-chien she, 1948, p. 1,623.

5. Ibid., pp. 1591-94.

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Table I. Education in North China (1945-46)*
(Figures in parentheses are 1946 statistics)

Province	Primary Schools		Middle Schools (Secondary Schools)		Institutions of Adult Education	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
Hopei	3,175	392,586	156	63,979	(660)	(40,999)
Shansi	4,127	589,935	54	13,058	(896)	(48,108)

*The Education Yearbook of China, 1948, pp. 1,397-1,483. The institutions for adult education include libraries, museums, night schools, etc. It is obvious that not all the people participating in such activities are counted in the figures for "students" of adult education institutions.

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II. MAJOR CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE COMMUNISTS

A. Basic Policy

Mao Tse-tung stated in his On New Democracy that, "A specific culture is the ideological reflection of the political and economic activities of a specific society."[6] In molding a culture for the "new China," Mao believed that education would be successful if it contained "scientific substance, oriented toward the masses, and adapted to suit China's nationalism."[7] This principle of education was incorporated into the Common Program of 1949 which constituted the basis of the Communist Constitution promulgated in 1954. Article 41 of the Common Program states that the purpose of education is "to elevate the level of the people's culture, to prepare personnel for national reconstruction, to eradicate the thoughts of feudalism, compradorism,[8] and Fascism, and to develop the spirit of service to the people." To apply this basic policy to educa-

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6. Mao Tse-tung, Mao Tse-tung Hsüan-chi [Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung], Vol. II, Peking Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, p. 666.

7. Hsia Feng, Hsiao-hsüeh Chiao-shih Shou-ts'e [Handbook for Primary School Teachers], Shanghai, Wen-hua ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 8.

8. Comprador is a native agent employed by a foreign establishment (commercial houses, etc.) in China to have charge of its native employees.

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871 tion, Article 47 of the same document further specifies that " education must be systematically popularized; secondary and advanced education must be strengthened; technical education must be emphasized; spare-time education for laborers and cadres must be stressed; and revolutionary political education must be given to both young and old intellectuals."[9]

These pronouncements became the guiding light for the Communists in their effort to revamp the educational system of China until the promulgation of the Constitution in 1954. In reality, the new Constitution has nothing to add to or subtract from the principles already in practice. Article 94 of the Constitution says that "Citizens of the People's Republic of China have the right to education. To guarantee enjoyment of this right, the state establishes and gradually extends the various types of educational institutions. The state pays special attention to the physical and mental development of young people." The next article in the Constitution "safeguards the freedom of citizens to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creation and other cultural activity." These are innocuous statements of commonly accepted principles. Reiteration of these principles in the Constitution, however, provides the Communists once more with the opportunity to clarify their educational aims which are "to develop a socialist China."

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9. Jen-min Shou-ts's, 1950 [People's Handbook, 1950], Shanghai, Ta-kung pao, 1950, section B, p. 9.

871 Attention must be given to the gradual shift of emphasis from 1949 to the present in the Communist basic policy for education. At the beginning of the Communist regime, the central theme was to bring to reality a "New Democracy" in education. By this the Communists meant that petit bourgeois and national capitalist classes would still be tolerated on a level with the proletariat. Soon afterwards the Communists made it amply clear that a constant effort was to be made to root out every trace of thought and action in education that did not conform to strict proletarian socialism, Russian style. There have been numerous articles arguing whether there is any difference between the principles of the New Democracy and the socialist principles of education.[10] Apparently the final word on this question was pronounced by an article in People's Education, an official organ of the Ministry of Education since May 1, 1951, which said: "The present stage is no longer the same as the New Democracy stage. We have to not only establish a socialist system of thought for the educators and students (which was the central mission under the New Democracy principle), but to put into practice the principle of 'eliminating step by step the exploitation system and establishing a socialist society' as stipulated in the new Constitution."[11]

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10. See articles on this subject in Jen-min Chiao-yü [People's Education], Peking, June 1953, April 1954, and June 1954 issues.

11. Ibid., Oct. 1954, p. 13.

•871 In short, the Communist basic policy of education has been to remove gradually all influences other than those stemming from socialism. In practice, the Communists have attempted to train all levels of personnel required for a complete socialist remolding of China.

B. Changes in Curricula

873 Curricular "reform" was among the first actions undertaken by the Communists in the field of education. Even before their consolidation of power (at a time when a thorough renovation of the educational system was administratively impossible) the Communists instituted changes in the curricula wherever their troops had seized control. As early as September 1949, Communist authorities announced the "Temporary Regulations of Curricular Reform in the Departments of the Colleges of Arts and of Law in the Institutions of Higher Learning in North China." The principal features of this "reform" were (1) the substitution of Marxism and Leninism for the Three People's Principles, (2) abolishment of the course on traditional law and, before new laws were promulgated, the addition of studies on socialist theories of jurisprudence. This action was aimed at institutions of higher learning; reform of curricula for lower level schools was not much publicized.

The same subject was the central theme for the All-China Higher Education Conference of June 1-9, 1950. By that time the movement to reform

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C. Changes in Organization

Before 1949, as the Communist Army assumed control of a city or a town, a military delegate was assigned to each school to supervise its administration. The changes the Communists brought to the schools at that time were imposed unsystematically and arbitrarily. Even after the establishment of the Peking regime, the measures designed to revise the educational system and school organization remained haphazard.

Following the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, the main activity of the Communist Ministry of Education, as far as reorganization of the schools was concerned, appeared to be the seizure of private schools and other schools sponsored by religious groups and foreign missions.[14] The first systematic reorganization was occasioned by the issuance of a Government Administration Council directive, "Decisions Concerning the Reform of the Educational System," on October 1, 1951. The People's Daily of Peking, central organ of the Communist Party, and People's Education both expounded the theory behind the organizational reform:[15] (1) the reorganization will ascertain

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14. Wu-nien-lai Ti Kung-fei Chiao-yü [Communist Education in the Past Five Years (1951-55)] Taipei, 6th Section, Central Committee, Nationalist Party, 1955, Vol. II, pp. 14-15. A total of 6,360 schools were said to have been seized by the Communists.

15. People's Education, Oct. 1951, pp. 5-6; Hsia Feng, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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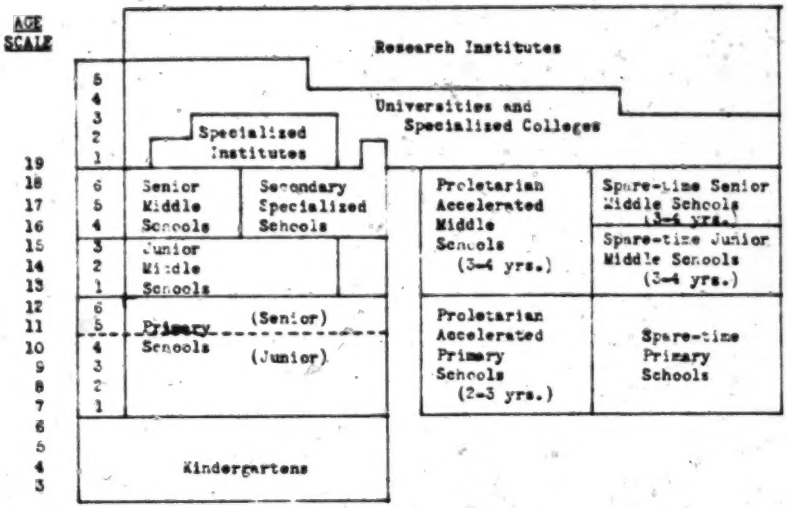
Chart 2. System of Education under the Chinese Communist Regime*



*Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 8-9; Chi Tung-wei, Education for the Proletariat in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1954, p. 16. The Chinese term for "middle school" implies "secondary school."

(Chart 2 faces p. 287.)

871 the position of vocational schools, special training programs for cadres, and adult educatioanal classes in the regular schools system; in other words those cadres, soldiers, peasants, and workers who have had no opportunity for formal education may attend special training schools and achieve the same standing as regular school graduates; (2) changing the six-year and two-level primary school system into a five-year and one-level system will enable children of poor peasants to receive a much more complete basic education; (3) the new system will place emphasis on technical education to serve the purpose of the "socialist reconstruction of China;" and (4) the kindergarten will have its definite place in the reorganized system.

Thus the reorganization was launched as the central task for education in China for 1952. By September 1952, it was reported, the major reorganization of schools was completed.[16] However, the Communist Vice-Minister of Education, Liu Shih, reported in January 1954 that "systematic reorganization of the schools was not completed until late 1953."[17] Liu, in reporting on the completion of the reorganization, possibly had in mind the decision of the Government Ad-

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16. Kao Chien-hsing, Chung-kung Ti Nu-i Chiao-yü [Slave Education of the Chinese Communists], Hong Kong Tsu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p. 36; Walter Crosby Eells, Communism in Education, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education, 1954, p. 201.

17. People's Education, January 1954, p. 24.

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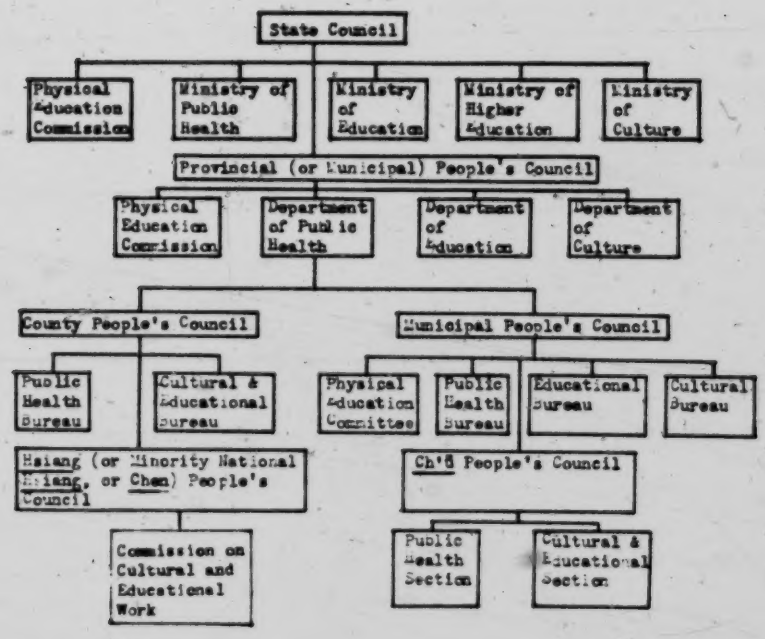
Chart 3. Communist Government Control of Education*/



*/ Communist Education in the Past Five Years, pp. 12-13. The term "Physical Education" used here can also be translated as "Physical Culture and Sports."

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871 ministration Council in November 1953 to "restore the old primary school system of six-year and two-level." According to Premier Chou En-lai, this last action was necessary because of "inadequate preparation" for the new five-year, one-level system.[18]

The main changes brought about in the reorganization were the regrouping of departments in large universities and specialization in the colleges. The purpose was to achieve a balanced distribution of educational facilities prescribed in the program of national economic reconstruction.[19] The system of education after reorganization can best be shown in the chart which follows.

Following the reorganization of the school system, government control over the system was further defined by the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. As shown in Chart 3, the formal chain of control is not much different from that of the Nationalist system. The following new features, of course, are to be noted: The two ministries of education function differently in that the Ministry of Higher Education is in charge of the education of higher and secondary levels of technical

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18. Ibid., p. 8.

19. For a detailed description of the reorganization, see People's Education, Jan. 1954, p. 65; Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. II, pp. 14-15; Chung Shih, Higher Education in Communist China, Hong Kong, Union Research Institute, 1953, pp. 41-47.

871 and administrative personnel to be used in the national reconstruction program, while the Ministry of education is responsible for the administration of teacher's training schools, regular middle (secondary) and primary schools, and adult education schools.[20] Prior to the promulgation of the Constitution, education was under the jurisdiction of a Cultural and Educational Administration of the Government Administration Council. Now, under the State Council, culture and education are separated. The Ministry of Culture continues to supervise all "cultural activites" other than education, such as the press, publication, art, drama, and so forth. That physical education is worthy of an independent commission under the State Council indicates the important position it occupies in the Communist program of youth training.

871 665 One significant development in the control of education by the Communist government is the role played by the Party. Although the official chain of control, as shown in Chart 3, seems to have no place for the Communist Party, Party branches on all levels are actually the authorities for interpretation of official policy and make the final decision on how a school should be run. Evidence shows that some schools report every important question to the local Party secretary before taking any action.[21] Close-range Party supervision, together with the assignment of

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20. Communist Education in the Past Five Years, Vol. I, p. 11.

21. People's Education, December 1954, p. 30.

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871 well trained veteran cadres to key positions on the administrative staff of the school, serve to maintain the Communists' control over the educational system.

III. MAJOR MOVEMENTS LAUNCHED BY COMMUNISTS IN EDUCATION

A. "Thought Reform"

668 871 To effect an ideological revolution among the educators and students is an essential step in the Communist plan to Sovietize completely the educational system in China. Since 1949, every major measure adopted by the Peking regime in the cultural and educational fields involves, either implicitly or explicitly, an effort to remold the thought of the people concerned. However, an organized drive to change the way of thinking of the educators and students did not start until Premier Chou En-lai delivered his speech on September 29, 1951. He urged the educators to abandon their attitude of "study for study's sake" or "art for art's sake" and to step down from their professorial pedestals to serve the masses. He exhorted the students to forget about personal profit and to identify their ambitions with the national interest.

This movement spread rapidly. Criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. "Petit bourgeois sentimentalism," "capitalistic romanticism," "feudalistic individualism," and a host of other "undesirable" attitudes were subject to

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relentless attack. During subsequent months the Communist press was crowded with signed confessions of past ideological errors. This is the mainstay of the Communist program to revamp education, but it is admittedly a most trying task, which requires a long-range plan and sustained effort for its achievement.

Although practically every college professor in China has published his self-criticism (some of them have done so several times) and every student has been through at least one "thought struggle," the movement continues unabated. The Ministry of Education in announcing the tasks for 1954 again pointed out the need for continued vigilance against the "remnant of feudalistic thought."[22] The Government Administration Council in directing secondary schools to improve their courses stressed the importance of strengthening socialist thought.[23] The latest revival of this issue occurred when the philosophy and works of Hu Shih, Yü P'ing-po, and Hu Feng became the subject of a purge.[24] (See chapter on Artistic and Intellectual Expression.)

B. Labor-education Movement

The labor-education movement is design-

22. People's Education, March 1954, p. 22.
23. Ibid., July 1954, p. 16.
24. Ibid., May 1955, p. 5.

871/668 ed to inculcate a respect for labor in the minds of intellectuals and youth, and is not to be confused with "Reform-through-labor" discussed in the chapter on Forced Labor.

Beginning with the kindergarten, the Communists teach students to respect the "fruits of labor," to care for school property and to aid their parents by doing chores at home. Grade schools children are taught manual work, partly as physical exercise and partly as a means to cultivate respect for labor. Older students are urged to prepare themselves for work on the farm or in the factory. Such a preparation, the Communists say, is the "most glorious" assignment which can be offered "news China's" youth. Students in advanced schools are reminded of their duty to accept government assignments regardless of the working conditions involved. The main purpose of the labor-education movement is to prepare students for work upon the completion of any level of education.

"Study is the only task worth undertaking, and all other professions are beneath it" is a traditional Chinese expression which upholds the high social status of the educated. This has become a target of Communist attack, and the fight to change the minds of the people is still surging.[25]

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25. See Communist official directives on "labor-education," ibid., June 1954, p. 7; May 1954, p. 7.

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C. Physical Education Movement

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Although a specific commission has been established to promote physical education (see Chart 3), the State Council and the two ministries of education have been seriously concerned with the health of students. This concern originates from Mao Tse-tung's instructions to promote "good health, good study, and good work." As early as Spril 1951, Tung Ch'un-ts'ai, Vice-Minister of Education, called the attention of the nation's educators to the importance of guarding the health of students. Tung's declaration was affirmed by other officials in responsible positions during subsequent years, but apparently the situation was not much improved. The students remained in financial straits while the pressure of intensified courses was increased. The Ministry of Higher Education, the Ministry of Health, and the Commission on Physical Education issued in July 1954 a joint directive reiterating an earlier announcement by the Government Administration Council on "Decisions on Improving the Health of Students in Schools at All Levels."[26] However, it is obvious that stress on physical exercise alone cannot take the place of an adequate diet.

Other movements launched simultaneously with the above-mentioned drives have been revived from time to time. They are indicative of the ills plaguing the educational system under the

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26. People's Education, August 1954, p. 65.

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871 628 Communists in China. Language reform, important to primary education and in efforts to combat illiteracy, is associated with "thought reform". The program to establish winter schools, summer schools, and other special training classes for peasants, workers, and soldiers is actually a part of school reorganization. Some of the most important characteristics of these movements will be further discussed.

IV. THE VARIOUS LEVELS OF SCHOOLS

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The Communist policy for education and the movements in education are nationwide, and are subject to only minor regional variations. However, a survey of the schools in North China may reveal the extent to which the Communist policy has been carried out and the response of the people in this region.

A. Kindergarten and Primary Schools

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The development of kindergartens in North China has been tied in with the child welfare program, and there has not been any specific discussion among the educational circles. Reporting educational development in Peking in 1950, Deputy Mayor Wu Han only mentioned that kindergartens as a whole had undergone a process of reorganization with a view to improving their efficiency and bringing better personnel to these

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874 part of some of the cadres enrolled in higher level cadre schools.[65] To remedy this situation, educational authorities are now trying to strengthen the spare-time classes by giving refresher courses to those students who are deficient.

F. Education for Minority Nationalities

871 563 With the slogan, "All the ethnic groups in China are brothers in a big family," the Communists have been encouraging the establishment of a program to provide educational opportunities for minority nationalities. Regular schools are encouraged to enroll members of minority nationalities, and special schools have been established for minority groups. Communist statistics asserted that in 1951 there were 9,103 special primary schools (with 943,285 students) and 117 secondary schools (with 45,628 students) throughout China. These figures, it was claimed, increased in 1952 to 10,668 (1,474,244 students) for primary schools, and 182 (90,000 students) for secondary schools.[66] At the end of 1953, the Communists claimed that over 4,000,000 members of minority groups were attending school.[67] This would mean that one-eighth of the total number of minority nationals were attending school.

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65. People's Education, August 1953, pp. 31-32.

66. Ibid., March 1954, pp. 40-42.

67. Ibid., October 1954, p. 35.

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563 In North China, there is no concentration of minority nationals to warrant establishment of educational institutions exclusively for such peoples. However, the Central College of Minority Nationalities is specializing in languages and cultures of the minority nationalities; Peking University also has a special department for training of minority medical students.

As a matter of policy, the appropriate language of each minority group is to be used in schools where the use of Chinese would tend to make teaching more difficult. (For the language policy of the Communists, see chapter on Language.)

V. SOME OBSERVATIONS

A. The Character of Communist Education

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Two significant characteristics of the Communist educational system are the degree of specialization found in schools and the centralization of control over the content of the subjects taught. The measures so far adopted by the Communists in reorganizing the schools, with emphasis on the development of technical institutions, are measures of expediency in view of the urgency of economic reconstruction as outlined in the first Five-year Plan. The centralization of control begins with the indoctrination of the teachers and rigid supervision of publication of textbooks. Every teacher is told what to say and how to say it. To be sure, the Communists have

• 871 yet to achieve in education complete conformity with the Party line, but all possible efforts are made to guard against deviation.

B. Ideological Orientation and Its Effect on the People

The ideological orientation of the Communist educational system can be readily seen from the basic policies and the major movements instituted in Chinese education during the past five years. Through "education" the Communists expect to teach the Chinese people to hate "American imperialism" and to respect the Soviet Union as "the leader in the revolutionary bloc of nations." The social sciences taught in schools are oriented on the basis of Russian socialism "because China must learn from the Russian revolutionary experiences." In technical courses Russian technique is singled out as an "advanced model" to be copied. This is particularly observable in institutions of higher learning in North China. Hostility toward all non-Communist traditions and ideals is stressed throughout the country. Any person, Chinese or foreign, who is not sympathetic toward Communism is assumed to be either an actual or a potential enemy, and is to be treated as such.

There is a lack of subtlety in the Chinese Communists' attempt to reconcile their theory of patriotism with their pro-Russian propaganda line. When they directed the teachers to abandon the use of English except in foreign language

871 classes, they defended their position by saying that Russian would be taught in certain schools in order to expedite the process of translating certain Russian works in China but that even this practice would be terminated as soon as the goal was attained.[68] However, they failed to specify the time when such practices would cease. Since learning a foreign language is no easy matter, the substitution of Russian for English has been a controversial point and may remain an unresolved issue of the Communist ideological orientation in education.

C. Noted Inadequacies

Lack of teachers, as has been noted, will continue to hamper the development of education and the improvement of the standard of the schools. Lack of educational equipment can only be partially solved by improvisations; the attempt to teach two classes in a single room at Peking Municipal Middle School was found to be unsatisfactory.[69] Lack of financial support for students will make it necessary for them to become preoccupied with their own livelihood when they are studying. Above all, the lack of well-trained educational administrators will be the greatest obstacle to the Communists' efforts to achieve progress.

Despite government efforts to run the schools according to a centralized plan, the lack

68. People's Education, Feb. 1952, p. 7.
69. Ibid., Sept. 1952, p. 22.

871 of coordination leads to the "piracy of teachers and students." Government agencies in need of technical personnel often call away teachers and students without notifying the school authorities. Although such practices seem to be less prevalent in North China than in other regions, the situation was widespread and serious enough in 1951 for the Government Administration Council in Peking to issue an order banning such practices.[70] In North China, as compared with other regions, there have been fewer reports on interruption of school administration and the students' study on account of extracurricular activities required by local governments.

Until adequate, officially approved textbooks become available, the Communists have to resort to the translating of Russian works in order to meet temporary needs. By June 1954, Peking University alone had translated 29 Russian textbooks for use by its natural science department.[71] Since such translated works have not been properly adapted for use by Chinese students, it is doubtful if they will help to improve the educational system of Communist China.

The government's effort to place college graduates wherever they are needed is undoubtedly required by the Communist plan for economic reconstruction. But even if the graduates are all thoroughly indoctrinated in Communism,

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70. Ibid., August 1951, p. 8.
71. People's Pictorial, June 1954.

871 there is still no reassurance that dissatisfaction will not grow among those who have been denied a free choice of jobs.

In summary, it should be noted that although the Communists have launched a thorough reorganization of the Chinese educational system, their efforts are far from complete. The attitudes of so many people involved in the system of education cannot be quickly changed; hence the renewed effort on the part of the government to root out "bourgeois" and anti-Communist thought among teachers and students. The expediency of "accelerated schooling" apparently has had a detrimental effort upon the graduates. According to a Communist report, some students in primary schools spent more than four years in the same grade; in some middle schools about 17 per cent of the students failed; in 1954, 73 per cent of the applicants for engineering department failed in mathematics in the college entrance examination.[72] There is no information available on how the college graduates fared; but it seems unlikely that their efforts were any more successful.

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72. People's Education, Jan. 1955, p. 5.

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berry. There were also 31 mu of German ash, 91 mu of willow bushes, and 35 mu of vegetables and other crops.

The 1929 hsien budget included $1,276 for the nursery. Forty dollars was sent to Paoting for the experimental farm there.

Bureau of Education

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The Bureau of Education was the successor, after several reorganizations, of the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn which was established in 1904. At that time the magistrate and the supervisor of the middle schools joined to persuade the people to establish elementary schools. This campaign resulted in the establishment of 130 schools. The Bureau for Urging the People to Learn was organized with a director and 16 assistants, all volunteers, whose only remuneration was a small amount to cover the cost of their travel.

By 1910 the large number of assistants and the lack of individual responsibility were found to be inefficient, so the 16 volunteers were replaced by four paid assistants.

In the changes of 1913 the Bureau was abolished and its work was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government. At that time one supervisor was employed to inspect the elementary schools.

Some of the citizens, who had had experience in educational work, felt that the educational section could not adequately supervise the work of the schools. Hence they organized an Educational Committee of three members to cooperate with the village heads and their assistants in promoting the work of the schools. Before the end of 1914 the educational section of the yamen felt that it was "inconvenient" for it to continue the educational work and the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was reestablished with a headman who was paid $30 a month and five assistants who each received $10 a month.

Forty-one schools were established in 1914. These included two schools with both upper and lower primary grades, and two girls' and 37 boys' lower primary schools. In 1915 the name of the lower primary schools was changed to People's Schools. In that year 159 new schools were established. Sixteen of these were for girls. Six of the boys' schools had both the upper and lower primary grades. A traveling teacher was appointed to supervise the schools. During the next four years, 60 girls' and 20 boys' schools were added and it became necessary to add an extra traveling teacher.

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In 1915 the administrative budget of the Bureau amounted to $1,100 per year. In 1923 it was increased to $1,700 because of the increase in prices and an increase in the personnel of the Bureau. These funds came from the land taxes. To facilitate the educational program and the supervision of the schools the hsien was divided into 25 school districts. The program called for the establishment of an elementary school in every village with more than 500 families (only seven villages had that many families). Smaller villages were to join with a neighboring village or villages to establish a union school.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The personnel of the Bureau consisted of a head, five inspectors, four education committee members, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. The head of the Bureau was put in charge of all the educational work of the hsien, but functioned under the direction of the magistrate. The annual budget of the Bureau amounted to $3,948.

In 1929 the personnel of the Bureau still totaled 13, but there were only three instead of five inspectors. The Educational Committee had been increased to five and a secretary had been added to the list. The hsien was divided into 12 school districts, two in each District. The administrative budget for the Bureau had been increased to $6,096. The hsien budget also included $22,203 for the expenses of the middle, normal, and vocational schools, $5,100 for the city primary schools, and $10,959 subsidy for the village primary schools. Rent from village lands or general village funds provided the main support of the primary schools.

The Office for Social Education was established in 1917 as par the model hsien program. Its function was to promote social adult education and through those programs to improve the customs and habits of the community. There were only two on the office staff, a headman and a clerk. They were also in charge of the public library, the newspaper reading room, and the museum, and supervised the work of the Three Principles Lecture Hall. The expenses of the Office, including the library, the reading room, and the museum, totaled $648 in 1929. The budget of the lecture hall was $288. In 1930 the name of the Office was changed to the Peoples' Educational Office.

The Educational Association was established in 1907 by those who

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were interested in promoting education in Ting Hsien. Later on the head of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was appointed from the membership of the Association. In 1913, when the work of the Bureau for Encouraging the People to Learn was taken over by the educational section of the hsien government, the Association was abolished. The Bureau was reestablished in 1914, but the Association was not reorganized until 1917. At that time its name was changed to the Educational Weekly Association. Its chief activity was the publication of a weekly paper. A president and vice-president were elected for a term of three years. They were the editors of the paper. In 1929 the budget of the Association was $150 for the expense of publishing the weekly. The money came from general hsien funds.

The total for education in the hsien expenditure budget for 1929 was $45,444. This was 42 per cent of the budgeted items. If the non-budgeted administrative items, magistrate's office, and judiciary were added to the budgeted total the amount for education would probably be between 30 and 35 per cent of the total hsien expenditure.

Farm Association

The Farm Association was established in 1876 to promote reforestation and to protect the grain in the fields, but was discontinued because of political disturbances. It was reorganized in 1914. It was not affected by the 1928 reorganization and continued to receive a grant of $570 from the hsien Bureau of Finance.

In 1918 the hsien government required the people in the villages to organize branches of the Farm Association. Three hundred and twenty-seven were set up in the 453 villages. The branch associations tried to protect the trees and grain in their area and investigated and attempted to solve any thefts of trees or grain. This would seem to be a duplication of the function of the Green Crop Associations and an attempt on the part of the government to take over and control that work.

Merchants' Association

The Merchants' Branch Association, originally organized under the Manchu regime, was reorganized in 1914 by representatives of 95 shops. The next year the Agricultural Section issued orders that the Association should again be reorganized and the name changed. The new name was the Merchants' Association or, it might be translated, Chamber of

2. Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1934 AF12 North China AF12

fore sunset every family was to clean the street in front of its house. If fertilizer had to be put in the street it should be removed within three days. Plans were made to vaccinate the children. While the vaccination was to be arranged by the Bureau, the cost of the vaccine was to be met from philanthropic rather than village funds. It could not be determined how successful the vaccination program had been.

The field investigator commented on the fact that the village looked different because of the work of the Bureau, the streets were clean and repaired, and trees were growing along the roads. He stated that in winter the snow was cleaned off the streets in one day.

Mutual Protection

In November, 1915, the mutual protection program was organized. The village was divided into five districts, and a leader was chosen from each district to be responsible for the protection work. Two night watchmen were engaged. In case of theft all the village was summoned by the ringing of the village gong.

If any of the villagers were hurt or killed in attempting to catch a robber it was customary that they should be given a sum for medical expenses or their families be given a funeral present. No indemnity was given to the family that had been robbed. The expenses of the mutual protection program were to be paid by the entire village.

Education

Modern education was started in Chai Ch'eng in 1894 with the establishment, apparently under private auspices, of a Yü Cheng school for boys. The school was taken over by the village in 1905 when $1,500 was secured from the village treasury for the building of a schoolhouse at the east end of the village. This had five classrooms and five teacher's rooms. The new building made it possible to enlarge the school. It was enlarged again in 1913 when another $2,200 was appropriated from the village treasury for the building of three classrooms, 12 chien of rooms for the students, and five chien for the kitchen and dining rooms. This enlargement made it possible for the village to take over the higher primary class that Mr. Mi Chien san had started at his own expense the previous year. He also was financing higher and lower primary schools for girls. When the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü saw the educational development at Chai Ch'eng he contributed first $600 and later another $350

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toward the erection of additional buildings for the higher primary. The Vice-Governor of the province gave $2,000 in 1914 for buildings for both the boys' and the girls' schools.

In 1930 there were over 80 chien in the buildings of the boys' school and over 20 chien in the girls' school. The enrolment was 153 boys and 95 girls. There were four classes in the boys' lower primary and two in the higher primary. The girls had four lower primary classes, but only one in the higher primary.

In 1914 a village Educational Committee was organized to administer the village schools. All those who were higher primary graduates were automatically members of the committee. The committee met twice a year, in the new year and summer vacations, to discuss school problems. The administrative work of the committee was handled by an executive committee of nine members and four secretaries elected for a term of two years. The Educational Committee was given considerable executive power, for it discussed school budgets, school principals, and improvement of the schools.

One of the first acts of the Educational Committee was to make the village education free and universal. A special village meeting was called to discuss the problem. Twelve regulations were adopted and a special committee was appointed. All children from six to 14 years of age were to go to school and their schooling was to be free. A list of all children was to be prepared and sent to the village office one month before the opening of school and a supervisor was to notify all parents to send their children to their respective classes. The supervisor was to call on the parents if their children did not appear during the first week of school. Although there was no tuition charge, the village parents evidently found many reasons why their children should not go to school, for in 1926 the Mass Education Movement found a large amount of illiteracy among the young adults of Chai Ch'eng.

In 1927 the Educational Committee was changed to the School Board of Directors. The membership was set at 22.

In 1908 the village had no higher primary school so was faced with the problem of what it should do for poor children who wanted to continue their education after they had finished the lower primary school. Mr. Mi Feng-chi discussed the problem with the village leaders. It was finally decided to establish a village loan fund and make loans of $18 to each of seven lower primary graduates so that they might attend the

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higher primary school in another village. The loans were to be repaid when the boys were independent. The addition of the village higher primary classes in 1913, naturally, brought the discontinuance of the village loan plan, but Mr. Mi strongly recommended it as a very advantageous plan for families and clans.

The higher primary classes of Chai Ch'eng attracted students from nearby villages that had only lower primary schools. In some villages higher tuition was charged for children coming from outside villages, but the Chai Ch'eng records did not show any charge made for such children. The opening of higher primary classes by some neighboring villages in the late 1920s reduced somewhat the enrolment in the Chai Ch'eng schools.

The enrolment of the Chai Ch'eng boys' school ranged from 45 to 57 from 1904 to 1912, but during the next four years it increased by some thirty students per year until, in 1916, it was 175. The opening of the higher primary school in 1913 and the general stimulus to education given by the Revolution would account for the increase. In 1917 the enrolment dropped to 136 because of the heavy floods that caused some villages to give up all their school work for a year. Two years later the number was again up to 172. The maximum number was 178 in 1922 and 1923. The enrolment was down to 146 in 1929 and 153 in 1930. We do not have the year by year enrolment of the girls' school, but in 1930 it was 95. That year the total number of students, boys and girls, was 248.

The number of students graduating from the boys' higher primary school in 1931 was 17. This was considerably below the 27 graduates in 1923 and the 24 in 1927. The drop evidently was due to the opening of a higher primary school in a neighboring village and the withdrawing of its pupils from the Chai Ch'eng school. The total number of graduates in the 16 years from 1916 through 1931 was 350, an average of 23 per year.

The cost of operating the village higher and lower primary schools was given as approximately $3,000 per year. This was an average of $12.10 per student, nearly twice the hsien average of $6.40 for both higher and lower primary students.

Chai Ch'eng's school calendar was different from that of the neighboring villages. While the schools were closed for the usual New Year's vacation, they did not conform to the agricultural calendar and close

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for the spring and autumn harvests. They had instead a summer vacation, the only one of the 62 villages in the Experimental District to close its schools at that time.

Judging from our population studies[3] Chai Ch'eng's children of primary school age, from six to 14, numbered approximately 400. However, it is not possible to say that 62 per cent of the school age children, 73 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls, were in school, as some 10 per cent of the lower and higher primary students were over 14 years of age, and there were some higher primary students from neighboring villages. Even so, it was evident that Chai Ch'eng had a very good school record, with approximately two-thirds of the boys and nearly one half of the girls from six to 14 years of age in school.

An educational survey of the 62 villages in the Experimental District found 276 men and 32 women who were graduates of at least junior middle school, or approximately the ninth grade in American schools. Of these, 33 men and 11 women lived in Chai Ch'eng, one-eighth of the men and one-third of the women. These proportions show very clearly Chai Ch'eng's educational progress.

After the Mass Education Movement made Chai Ch'eng its rural headquarters in 1926 it established several schools there, both to improve the educational situation in the village and to experiment with the rural education program. There were Yü Ts'ai personal training schools for the higher primary graduates and others who were capable of carrying the work, separate schools for men and women. The men's school met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the women's classes from 9 to 12 and 2 to 4. The men's subjects included literature, civics, letter writing, geography, history, village self-government, and "common sense". The women's studies were these plus home economics, home industry, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles, abacus, penmanship, and games. There were 45 students in the men's school and 37 in the women's.

In the fall of 1927 the Movement also organized four experimental schools, two for boys and two for girls. Two were of higher primary and two of lower primary level. The boys' schools met from 7 to 9 in the evening, the girls' higher school from 10 to 12 in the morning, and the lower school from 2 to 4 in the afternoon, six days a week. The enrolment of the experimental school was 107—55 boys and 52 girls.

3. See Chapter II.

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The curriculum of the lower primary classes included the Thousand Characters, penmanship, the abacus, and phonetics. The boys' higher primary courses were higher Chinese readers, letter writing, civics, history, the abacus, and agriculture. The girls' school substituted home economics for agriculture.

The Movement also established two of the Thousand Character schools in Chai Ch'eng, one for boys and one for girls. These met two hours a day, the boys in the evening, the girls in the afternoon. The eight weeks' course was designed to teach the pupils to read and write the Thousand Characters. Later it was found possible to reduce the time to six weeks.

In 1928 53 per cent of the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

A Parent Teachers' Association was established in 1906 to bring the school and the families together. There were two meetings a year, with discussions, exhibitions, and consultations on student characteristics and problems.

Adult Education

In the field of adult education there was a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room. The lecture hall was organized by the village head in 1914 with one director, one manager, and one investigator. It was housed in a borrowed building formerly used by a girls' school. One of the first tasks undertaken by the lecture hall was the training of the village officers in self-government, citizenship, hsien and village development programs, and model village affairs. Later a similar course was given to a group of educated villagers who might serve as village officers. These courses were given prior to the organization, in 1915, of the Village Self-Government Council.

Anyone who was intelligent, of good character and who knew the purposes of the Hall could become a lecturer if he was introduced by two members. The lectures given had to have the approval of the magistrate. The lectures were largely based on the hsien government lecture notes but also included considerable material on the Japanese village organization. The chief lecturers were the village head, the head of the higher primary school, and the school teachers.

Lectures ordinarily were given on market days. For lectures of special interest, that would attract too many listeners for the lecture hall,

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a stage was set up in the school grounds or other public place. Benches were provided for the audience. Records were kept of the lectures given. Necessary expenses were paid by the Lecture Hall but it did not provide food for the lecturers.

The Library and Newspaper Reading Room was established in September, 1915, as part of the Model Village program. It was located in the buildings of the higher primary school and the head of the school was put in charge of the reading room. Later the reading room was moved to the village office. The reading room was open two hours per day. The library had some 1,100 books and magazines on its shelves.

Mr. Mi Ch'un-ming and Mr. Hsü Chin contributed many of the first collection of books. Such good progress was made with the library that at the end of the year the head of the Provincial Bureau of Education contributed $100 and the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü gave a large number of books. The reading room had three daily newspapers and two monthly periodicals.

Chai Ch'eng showed a long list of organizations with many officers and committees. Some of the offices were held concurrently by the village head or the district heads and the activity was that of a sub-committee of the village government. Others were entirely divorced from the village government and were separate community organizations. Whatever the list of officers in the village organizations, it was clear to our investigators that about 20 men were responsible for the community activities of Chai Ch'eng. The quality of leadership is indicated by the fact that in 1916 Mr. Mi Ti-kang was appointed vice-chairman of the Hopei provincial government.

This story of the organization of the model village of Chai Ch'eng pictures a community that was fortunate in having more than an average number of capable leaders, that had had, through its leaders, early contact with outside ideas, and had adopted some of them in its community life. When stimulated by the energetic, active, and progressive magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, the village, in a few months, organized or reorganized many different types of community activity. When his stimulus was removed the community program lost much of its momentum. but was continued in good measure. New and progressive ideas, brought by the Mass Education Movement, gave new stimulus to village activities and development, but our survey did not attempt any study of that change.

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CHAPTER IX

Education

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THE PROGRESS made in education was one of the reasons why Ting Hsien was named a model hsien. Four hundred and forty-seven schools and 18,666 students were reported to the hsien Bureau of Education in 1928. However, in spite of these favorable statistics, several sample studies showed that some 80 per cent of the population over six years of age were illiterate at the time of our study. Approximately one-third of the males over six years of age were literate but only about 3 per cent of the females. That very definite progress was being made on the literacy problem in some areas was shown by the figures for the 11–24 year age group in Chai Ch'eng. Fifty-three per cent of that group were literate, 65 per cent of the males and 36 per cent of the females.

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Teaching her people to read was and still is one of China's biggest problems. It was this problem that the Mass Education Movement was attacking in Ting Hsien. It was their hope that, using the Movement's Thousand Character system, they could, within three years after they had begun their hsien wide program, by 1934, teach most if not all of the hsien's seventy thousand young illiterates to read. By that system, which actually taught some 1,200 characters in its beginning course, a person could, in two months' time (later six weeks), become literate enough to read simple books, write letters, and keep accounts. A second or post-graduate course covered another 1,200 characters.

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In a study of the characters used in various kinds of written material and their comparative frequency rates in a million and a half characters the Mass Education Movement found that if a person could recognize nine characters he could read one out of seven characters in simple material. Seventy-eight characters would cover 50 per cent, 352 characters 70 per cent, and 1,169 characters 91 per cent. The Movement therefore based its first series of lessons on 1,200 characters. The combination of the characters into binomial and trinomial terms gave a total vocabulary of well over 2,000 words. In printed material published by the

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Movement phonetic symbols giving the pronunciation, both sound and tone, were printed beside any new or unfamiliar characters. The meaning of the character was given by the context.

It was generally estimated that some five thousand characters were needed for general newspaper reading.

By the end of 1931 there were People's Schools (Mass Education classes) in all the 453 villages and in the 19 satellite villages. More than 20,000 students were enrolled. The estimated cost was 40 cents per pupil. This covered classroom, equipment, light, fuel, texts, materials, teaching, and supervision. By 1932 it was possible, in some villages, to organize a campaign to enroll all of the remaining illiterate young adults and "eliminate illiteracy" in those villages. By 1934 the hsien government had taken over the promotion of the literacy classes. That year there were 844 classes in 416 villages with an enrolment of 21,170, 14,080 males and 7,090 females.[1]

The 80 per cent of illiteracy for the hsien was determined from the figures for several sample groups of families, 515 in the Experimental District and 5,255 in the 1st District, and from special literacy studies of the 11–50 age group in 500 families in the Experimental District, of the 11–24 age group in the 366 families in Chai Ch'eng, of 150 of the 362 families in Tung T'ing, and of 1,633 families in the city and 536 families in the three suburbs. Those who had had at least two years of lower primary school, or two months in a People's School, i.e., had completed the first Thousand Character course, were classed as literate. In the 500 family study individuals were given a test in which they were required to recognize and write a representative sample of ten of the characters used in the Thousand Character readers. If they failed to make a perfect score they were classed as part literate but were not included in the literate group.

The 5,255 families had the lowest literacy figures: males 5 years of age and over, 30.3 per cent, females 1.7 per cent, total 16.5 per cent. For the 400 farm families the figures were males 37 per cent, females 4.0 per cent, total 21.6 per cent. Chai Ch'eng, where the first Mass Education schools were opened in 1926, had the highest literacy figure for the

1. Dr. Y. C. James Yen, head of the Mass Education Movement, has stated that during the war years 1937–1945 over 45,000,000 people learned to read by the Thousand Character System taught in classes promoted by the Mass Education Department of the Government Ministry of Education.

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871 212 565 The following figures show how, for the 515 families, the average number of students per family and the years in school increased and the average age at which the students entered school decreased as the size of the family farm increased.

Mu	*Aver. with Ed.*	*Per Cent of Family*	*Aver. Years in School*	*Aver. Age Entered School*
Under 50	1.1	18	3.9	8.8
50–99	3.5	33	6.1	7.8
100 and over	4.5	55	7.3	7.2

Where the head of the family could read the literacy figure was 49 per cent. Where he could not read it was only 25.6 per cent.

The very definite effect of the father's occupation on literacy is shown by the following figures.

Occupation	*Per Cent Literacy*
Education, government, military	71
Merchant	48
Farmer	33
Manual laborer	18

871 China's old educational system was based on the Chinese classics and aimed to prepare the students for the government examinations. The local district examinations were held in Ting Hsien in the examination halls that, during the latter part of our study, were the headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The old style education was given privately, by a tutor in a wealthy family, by a scholar who earned his living teaching a group of pupils who came to his home, or in schools maintained by some villages.

The first modern school of which we found a record was a private school opened in 1894. Villages began to establish schools about 1902 but it was not until after the Republic was established in 1912 that rapid progress was made. The influence of the magistrate Sun Fa-hsü, appointed in 1914, was especially strong in the establishment of schools. Many temples were given up at that time and their buildings were taken over for the new schools.

China's general educational system was a six-six-four division, elementary school six years, middle school six years, college four years. The elementary school period was divided at first, lower primary three years,

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higher primary three years. By governmental decree dated September 6, 1928, the division was changed to lower primary four years, higher primary two years, and the lower primary was made compulsory for all children.[2] The middle school was divided junior middle three years, senior middle three years.

In 1927 there were 449 schools in the hsien. In 1928 there were 447. Our tables for 1928 showed a total of 468 schools, but in getting the number of lower and higher primary schools we counted twice the 21 schools that had both lower and higher primary departments. There were five schools above the primary grade, boys' and girls' junior middle schools, boys' and girls' normal schools, and a vocational school.

Villages with schools had a school board responsible for the operation of the schools. Many of them also had an Educational Committee that consisted of the village head, the head of the village school board, and an undetermined number of other village leaders. This committee was responsible for the development of the educational program, the preparation of the school budget, the provision of funds to meet the budget, and overall management of the school property. They were required to keep account of all school funds and to make regular reports to the hsien Bureau of Education.

In 1923 the Provincial Department of Education ordered that the Hsien Bureau for Urging the People to Learn be reorganized as the Hsien Bureau of Education. The head of the Bureau, working under the magistrate, was put in charge of all the educational work in the hsien. Working with him were four educational committee members. They generally were some of the leading gentry and served without salary. The employed staff of the Bureau included five inspectors, a treasurer, a business manager, and a clerk. By 1930 the staff had been increased to six inspectors and a secretary had been added.

The magistrate also appointed an Educational Administrative Committee of nine members, all of whom served without pay. They, in consultation with the head of the Educational Bureau, worked out plans for the development of the overall educational program of the hsien, especially for the higher schools that were largely financed from hsien funds. The Administrative Committee prepared the educational budget, secured funds to meet it, and managed the property of the

2. Theodore E. Hsiao, *The History of Modern Education in China* (Peking University Press, Peiping, 1932).

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871 schools under their direct control. The plans developed by the Administrative Committee were carried out by the Bureau staff.

The operating budget of the Bureau of Education was $3,953 in 1928. In 1929 the Bureau was supposed to receive $6,096 but reported that it did not get the full amount.

Other school items in the hsien expenditure budget totaled $35,930 in 1928 and $38,262 in 1929. The following details show how the amounts were distributed in 1928.

Boys' normal school	$ 9,468
Girls' normal school	8,559
Vocational school	1,484
Chung Shan middle school	360
Special higher primary schools	5,100
Subsidies to higher and lower primary schools	10,915
Ming Yueh Tien school	44
	$35,930

The only increase in 1929 was $2,332 more for the boys' normal school. The normal schools reported that they received considerably less than the amounts budgeted for them.

The $35,930 in the hsien budget for education was less than 25 per cent of the $153,134 reported expenditure for all the schools in the hsien. The balance came from village and other funds.

At the same time that the Bureau of Education was established in 1923 the hsien was divided into 12 educational districts, two in each governmental district. These districts operated under the direction of the members of the Administrative Committee. The city was a special area where the schools were sponsored by the Bureau. The School District headquarters received and passed on to the Bureau the reports of the schools and were the channels through which all bureau orders were sent to the schools.

In spite of the progress that had been made there were 124 villages, 27.4 per cent, that had no schools. Most of these must have been small villages that felt they could not afford a school. Twenty per cent of the 453 villages had less than 50 families and 46 per cent had less than 100 families. Not all the villages without schools were without educational opportunities for, in some cases, small neighboring villages joined together to establish a union school. Some villages with no schools were

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permitted to send their pupils to the school of a neighboring village, often paying an increased tuition rate for them. 871

The 1st District had the highest proportion of villages without schools, 44 per cent. At first this seemed surprising but it evidently was the result of the large proportion of small villages, 37 per cent with less than 50 families and 66 per cent with less than 100 families. In the 4th District only 10 per cent of the villages had no primary school, but in that district only 21 per cent of the villages had less than 100 families and only 8 per cent had less than 50 families.

In spite of its large proportion of villages with no schools, the 1st District had the smallest number of families per boys' primary school, 159. The 4th District had the highest number, 239 families. For the hsien the average was 201 families.

Ninety-one villages had two schools each, one for boys and one for girls, but only seven villages had two schools for boys. The latter were probably the larger market towns.

Less than a quarter of the villages, 23 per cent, had lower primary schools for girls. Only two villages had higher primary departments for girls. According to our figures there were 109 schools for girls, one for every 650 families. In the 5th District there was one girls' lower primary for every 1,573 families. The 6th District had the best record, one for every 464 families.

There were coeducational schools in 14 villages and the city but even in those schools the boys and girls usually were taught in separate classes.

In the city there were 20 schools: 15 primary schools, three of which had higher primary departments, and five higher schools. For girls there were only two primary schools (one with a higher primary department), a middle school, and a normal school. There also were two coeducational lower primary schools.

Almost all of the lower primary schools had only one teacher. At the most 18 out of 417 lower primary schools had two instructors. The combined lower and higher primary and the higher primary schools usually had four teachers. The total number of teachers for all grades was 575. Only 88 were women. In more than a quarter of the girls' lower primary schools the teachers were men. In some if not all of the higher grade schools for girls there were some men teachers.

The teachers in general were a relatively young group for 57 per cent 875

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875 of the men and all but four of the women were under 30 years of age. Thirteen per cent of the men were over 49 years old.

871 The schools reported a total of 18,666 students, 15,377 boys and 3,289 (17.7 per cent) girls. The total number was equal to some 22 per cent of the children between 5 and 14 years of age. For the males the proportion in school was about 35 per cent. For the females it was about 8 per cent. The proportion with some school experience was, of course, higher as a considerable number of the 5–14 year age group had attended school and graduated or left, inasmuch as until 1928 the lower primary was only a three year course. After 1928 it was a four year course. The students attending the higher primary, middle, normal, and vocational schools were only 3.5 per cent of the 10–19 year age group.

Table 50 gives, for the 5,255 families, the numbers of those who were in school and of those who had graduated or left school before we made our study; also the proportions of different age groups who were or had been in school.

The figures for the 515 families (Table 51) in the Experimental District show the number of students in the different types of schools, the number who had left school, and the number of years they had spent in study. The record seems to be much better than for the 5,255 families only because the figures for the 515 families include those who had studied in an old style school or in a People's School using the 1,000 character system. Without those two groups the figures were very similar. Of the 5,255 families, 16.4 per cent, and of the 515 families, 17.8 per cent of those who were five years of age or over were studying or had studied in a modern type school.

The average number of students per school was 37 for primary schools, about 100 for the higher primary schools, and 145 for the middle schools. For all the schools the average was 42 students per school and 32 students per teacher.

The number graduated in 1928 was reported as 2,228 or about one in eight of the student body. This was an unusually low number. The decrease undoubtedly was largely due to the disturbances and unrest connected with the arrival of the Nationalist forces from the south, the taking of Peking, and the unification of the country under the Nationalist government. In earlier years the schools generally reported at least 50 per cent more graduates.

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The reported school income was $161,792; the expense $153,134. In view of all the educational needs it was surprising that there should have been a reported overall surplus of $8,658. The school income was derived from tuition, the rent of school land, interest on surplus funds, specially allocated tax income, hsien government subsidies, and the village funds collected by assessing all owners of land in the village area. The details on the division of income for all the schools were not available but the figures for the schools in the 62 villages of the Experimental District are given in Table 52.

Fifty-six per cent of the 438 lower primary schools reported their income as between $200 and $299 per year. Sixty-two schools received less than $200, while 14 received less than $125 a year. Only 18 had $500 or more a year. The average income was $227 per year, the average expense $197. The higher primaries spent an average of $3,000, the higher schools from $4,430 to $8,805.

The average expenditure for the 18,666 students in school in 1928 was $8.20. In the previous five years the average had varied from $6.50 to $9.05. For the boys the average in 1928 was $7.70, for the girls $10.50. Because of their smaller classes, the cost per student for the girls was regularly more than for the boys.

In the lower primary schools the average cost per student was only $5.35 in 1928. From 1923 to 1928 the average varied from $4.55 to $8.85. The general average was about $6.00 per student per year. In the higher primary schools the cost was about $30 per student. In the middle and vocational schools it was usually between $60 and $85 except that in 1928 the vocational school spent $221 per student. That year the enrolment was only 20 students, one-third of the figure for 1927.

The value of the property held by the schools was reported, in 1928, as $803,970. Of this, $135,405 (17 per cent) was held by the girls' schools. In 1926 the property total was $1,115,024. It is not clear why the boys' school property dropped $316,000 in two years.

The schools reported that the buildings they used varied from two to 227 chien. For the lower primary school buildings the range was from two to 34 chien but only 9 per cent had more than 10 chien. The average was six chien. The higher primary buidings varied from seven to 62 chien with the average 31 chien. One of the higher schools was very large with 227 chien. Two others had 46 and 91 chien.

A study of the number of the villages with graduates of higher pri-

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871 mary, middle schools, and colleges and of the number of graduates showed the following:

	Villages	*Per Cent*	*Graduates*	*Average per Village*
Higher primary	373	82.3	5,950	16
Middle school	300	66.2	1,588	5
College and technical schools	157	34.6	436	3
			7,974	

The total was only 2 per cent of the total population.

Seven villages reported over 100 higher primary graduates; one as many as 600. Only five villages had more than 25 middle school graduates and only one had more than 35. That one reported 200. Seventeen was the largest number of college graduates reported by any village.

The villages claimed 1,588 middle school and 436 college graduates but they also reported that 583 of the middle school and 318 of the college graduates were away from home. The number who could have had any part in the life of Ting Hsien was, therefore, middle school graduates 1,005, college and technical school graduates 118.

Adult Education

368 The public library, established in the city in 1917, had some 1,200 volumes on its shelves. It was open daily from nine to three. The daily attendance was reported to be some 17 readers.

The newspaper reading room was first opened in 1912. In 1917 its operation was made part of the program of the office of Social Education. Eight newspapers were subscribed for. The reading room was open daily from eight to four.

The museum was organized in 1921 to preserve the relics dug up when the roads were being repaired under the famine relief program. The road excavations discovered relics of the T'ang and Sung dynasties and carved figures from the Six Dynasties. Additional items were added between 1921 and 1929. The budgeted expense for Social Education was $628.

The Three Principles Lecture Hall was the successor of the Lecture Hall for the Improvement of Social Customs that had been established in 1912. Lectures were regularly given on the twelve city market days per month. The topics were the Three Principles and the news of the

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world. The average number of listeners was reported to be 30. The expenses of the lecture hall were given as $288 per year.

Chai Ch'eng had a Patriotic Lecture Hall and a library and newspaper reading room, organized as part of its model village program.

In 1934 seven "libraries" of the some 350 booklets that had been prepared by the Mass Education Movement were being circulated in the Ting Hsien villages. The booklets covered a wide variety of subjects, historical, scientific, biographical, plays, poems, stories, songs, and general information. They cost from 2.5 to five cents apiece.

Experimental District

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As it was possible to make a much more complete and detailed study of the smaller number of schools in the Experimental District and sample numerous items that were not included in the hsien study, a separate report is given for the district. There were 63 village schools and 2,016 pupils in the 62 villages. The average was just over one school per village but there were 14 villages (23 per cent) that had no school. In the 2nd and 3rd Districts 21 per cent and in the hsien 28 per cent of the villages had no schools. Most of the villages without schools were small villages. Eight of the District villages (13 per cent) had less than 50 families, while 23 villages (37 per cent) had less than 100 families.

The following figures show the number of schools and students.

	Schools	*Pupils*
Boys' primary	43	1,369
Girls' primary	14	240
Boys' and girls' primary	2	102
Lower and higher primary, boys	3	268
Lower and higher primary, girls	1	37
	63	2,016[1]

[1] Girls, 15 per cent.

Twenty-seven per cent of the schools had girl pupils but only 15.5 per cent of the lower primary students and 7.9 per cent of the higher primary students were girls.

Modern schools were a fairly recent development in Ting Hsien. The first in the Experimental District was, apparently, the private school started by Mr. Mi Chien-san in Chai Ch'eng in 1894. The first village schools were opened in 1902, but progress was slow as the people were

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871 not yet convinced of the value of the new schools. Just under half of the schools, 48 per cent, were started during the first five years of the Republic, 1912–16. Only three schools had been organized after 1921, one in 1927, the year before our study. Two of the three were for girls. Only one school for girls was opened before 1912. Twelve of the 15 girls' schools were started in the decade from 1912 to 1921.

Two of the 18 schools opened before 1912 were for both boys and girls. Coeducation was tried but was not generally accepted and no additional coeducational schools were opened in the area or, if they were, ...ey did not survive. In the hsien there were 16 coeducational lower primary schools and one higher primary. In both the 62 villages and in the hsien the coeducational schools were just over 3 per cent of the total.

The average number of students in the lower primary schools was 33 for the boys and 17 for the girls. In the higher primary schools it was 43 for the boys and 11 for the girls. As, until 1928, there were three classes in both the lower and higher primary schools, it would seem that the schools usually had small classes. The groups studying together, however, were fairly large as the average number of students per teacher was 26.

School attendance for the children of school age was far from being universally accepted in Ting Hsien even though the Nationalist government was attempting to make at least the first four years compulsory. In the 62 villages the attendance averaged only 0.2 pupils per family. Less than one in seven of the children between six and 14 years of age were in school.

School attendance apparently was not increasing at the time of our study. Only three schools said that the number of their students had increased during the previous five years. Those three were probably the three schools organized after 1922. Thirteen schools reported a decrease in pupils during the previous five years.

The ages of the pupils in the lower primary schools ranged from 5 to 18 years and in the higher primary from 10 to 19 years. In the rural areas the children who went to school were not regularly starting at the age of six. The largest groups in the lower primary schools were the 11 and 12 year olds. They apparently started school when they were eight or nine years old. The 152 boys over 14 years of age must have been 12 or ov... when they began studying. The wide range in ages

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must have made for many problems, especially in the one teacher schools. 871

The age range for the girls in the lower primary schools was from 6 to 16 years of age. Their median age was 10, one year less than the median age of the boys.

The higher primary students were a much more uniform group. The age range for the boys was only six years, from 11 to 16, and for the girls four years, from 12 to 15, except for two individuals, 10 and 19 years of age. The median age was 13 for both the boys and the girls.

As would be expected in a farming area, 93.3 per cent of the children came from families whose principal occupation was farming. The families of 78 of the 2,016 children were engaged in commercial work, 30 in industry, and 27 in education.

The teaching staff of the 63 schools numbered 78. Ten were women. 875 The average number of students per teacher was 26. Fifty-two schools, 83 per cent, had only one teacher. The three boys' schools with both lower and higher primary departments were the only ones that had more than two teachers. Five was the largest number of teachers in any school.

In age the teachers ranged from under 20 to over 70, but in general they were a young group; 75 per cent were under 30 and 85 per cent were under 40 years of age. All of the 14 men who were over 40 years of age must have had their early training in the Chinese classics.

All the women teachers and all but five of the men were natives of Ting Hsien. One-third of the men and two-thirds of the women were natives of the village in which they were teaching. All but two of the men teachers were married but only one-half of the women.

As indicated by their age, the group as a whole had not had long teaching experience. Only 14 of the 78 had taught more than 10 years. One man claimed to have taught between 35 and 39 years, while one, possibly the one who was over 70 years of age, said he had taught between 40 and 45 years. The older teachers were evidently men who earlier had taught the Chinese classics and then had found a place in the modern system.

The teachers appeared to shift about a great deal. Only seven said they had had as much as five years' service in the schools in which they were teaching at the time of our study. Only two reported between 10 and 14 years' of service in the same school. In one village near Ting

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875 Hsien the teacher was changed 11 times in 22 years.[3] Low salaries were undoubtedly responsible for much of the changing, especially during the time when salaries were still paid in rapidly depreciating copper coins. The shift from copper to silver was made about 1924.

The average annual salary of the lower primary teachers was $90 per year. It was $150 for the higher primary teachers. For the lower primary schools the minimum salaries were between $50 and $59 dollars. The maximum were in the $120–$139 group. For the higher primary teachers the lowest was in the $100–$119 group; the highest in the $160–$179 group. Almost half were in the highest group.

The number of women teachers, 10, was so small that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about their salaries, but the distribution figures seem to show that the salaries of the women teachers tended to be lower than those of the men.

Sixty-one per cent of the teachers had had normal school training; another 30 per cent were middle school graduates. Two had not gone beyond higher primary school. Two of the older men had won the hsiu t'sai degree, the first of the classical examination system. It would be difficult to judge the educational experience of students of a school for prison attendants, the society for the study of self-government, or a medical training school. They were each represented by one teacher in the 62 villages.

876 The usual teaching schedule called for the teacher to give from 8 to 10 different courses and to teach from 30 to 34 hours per week. Forty-seven per cent reported that number of courses while 52.6 per cent reported that many hours. Nine teachers said they taught less than five courses; another nine reported that they were giving from 11 to 13 courses. Nine were teaching less than 20 hours per week. Only one reported more than 34 hours per week.

● 871 Twelve of the 63 schools reported that they employed servants. Three-quarters of the 12 had only one servant but one school had five. Eight of the 19 servants were part-time workers. Wages ranged from $4.00 to $10.00 per year for the part-time workers and from $24 to $70 a year for those on full time.

875 565 A study of the families of the teachers, the amount of land the families owned, and the value of the family property showed that, as might be

3. Sidney D. Gamble, "Hsin Chuang", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1944).

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expected, the teachers, in general, came from the larger and wealthier families. The median family had 10 members and some 50 mu of land worth about $5,000. Only one family had no land, while 82 per cent of the families had at least 20 mu. Fourteen per cent had 100 mu or more. For 18 per cent of the families the value of the family land was less than $2,000. For 10 per cent it was $10,000 or more.

Fifty-nine of the 71 married teachers reported that they had a total of 61 boys and 51 girls. Seven reported no children. Seventy-six per cent of those reporting had not more than two children. However, as 74 per cent of the teachers were under 30 years of age and 85 per cent under 40 years of age, their families probably were still incomplete.

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All but two of the 63 village schools were housed in buildings owned by the village. In four villages the school buildings were also used for the office for village affairs.

The school buildings had an average of some seven chien for class rooms, offices, storage; 11 had less than five chien. Only five schools had more than 15 chien. They undoubtedly were the four schools with higher primary departments and probably one of the two schools for both boys and girls. Fifty-four per cent of the school buildings had from five to nine chien. This probably was adequate space as 52 of the schools had only one teacher.

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The schools generally operated on a six day week. All of the schools closed for the New Year holidays, most of them for a full month. Some had even more than a month so that the pupils would be free to help with the preparation for the New Year and also have the full first month. Some had only about three weeks and began soon after the Feast of Lanterns on the 15th of the First Month.

All but one of the schools had vacation at the time of the spring wheat harvest. The date depended upon the season. For most of the schools that vacation period was about half a month. A few had as much as a month while a few others had less than ten days.

The schools that had a spring vacation also had vacation at the time of the fall harvest. Its dates also depended upon the season. Most of the schools were closed for a month or a month and a half. One school, however, reported its vacation as less than 20 days. Another had two months.

One village, Chai Ch'eng, closed its schools for a summer vacation. It probably was the one school that did not have the harvest time vaca-

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871 tions. Most of the schools had a total of two and a half or three months' vacation during the year. The shortest time was just under two months. Evidently the vacation periods were set by the village school authorities rather than by the hsien Bureau of Education.

The 1928 income of the 63 schools totaled $16,700, an average of $265 per school and $8.30 per student. The income of the individual schools ranged from $100 to $2,200. Sixty-three per cent of the schools had incomes of less than $200 per year while 73 per cent had less than $250 per year. Seventeen per cent received from $250 to $399. Only six schools had $400 or over and only five had over $450. The four schools with the highest incomes were the four with both lower and higher primary departments. Their average income was $1,375 but the actual amounts ranged from $680 to $2,200.

The income of the schools came from a variety of sources, none of which were used by all the schools. Table 52 shows the income sources, the number of schools receiving income from each source, and the amounts received.

Almost half (47 per cent) of the school income came from school property, the rent of village land that had been assigned to the school, and interest on surplus school funds. The renting system varied from village to village. In some the village officers used the land in turn, paying a fixed rent for it. In others the land was rented to the highest bidder. In some villages the term was one year, in others as much as five years.

The available figures do not give the exact total of the land held by the schools but the middle figures of the groups with different sized holdings give a total of some 3,000 mu and the average rent $2.25 per mu. Judging from our study of rents (see Chapter X) this was a very low rent. The following figures give the reported land holdings of the schools.

Land	*Schools*	*Per Cent*
None	14	22.2
Under 25 mu	20	31.8
25–49	17	27.0
50–99	4	6.3
100–149	5	7.9
150 and over	3	4.8
	63	100.0

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The three schools with more than 150 mu had 180, 216, and 384 mu respectively.

Most, if not all, of the villages assessed the farm land within the village limits for funds to meet the village expenses. Originally the assessment covered only the expenses of the Green Crop Society, Ch'ing Miao Hui, that undertook to watch the village crops at harvest time and protect them from theft. Later the assessment was increased to cover the amounts needed for the home guard, the village school, and the demands of the military forces. It varied from year to year and from village to village, but, judging from the few samples we secured, was usually about 10 or 15 cents per mu. The sum the schools received from that source amounted to only 1.7 cents per mu on all the farm land of the 62 villages or some 2.0 cents per mu on the land of the 46 villages raising school funds from that source.

Twenty-five per cent of the land transfer tax paid to the village by real estate buyers and sellers was allocated to the school budget in 50 villages. It is not clear why money was not received from this source by 13 schools unless, perhaps, sufficient amounts were received from other sources, or there were no land sales in their area.

The subsidy given to 14 schools by the hsien government was for special excellence and came from the $10,915 received from a special tax collected in eight centers. In 1931 the model village Chai Ch'eng received a subsidy of $300 from this fund for its schools. The hsien Bureau of Education also sent another $400.

Tuition brought in a relatively small amount, $1,021, an average of only 50 cents per student per year. The basis of the tuition and the amount varied from village to village but generally was not more than $1.00 a year for the lower primary and $2.00 for the higher primary. One school reported a charge of $4.00 for the higher primary. Fourteen schools had a straight tuition charge. Twenty-one villages varied the amount of the tuition according to the amount of land owned by the pupil's family; seven according to the class the child was in. As there were only four higher primary schools, at least three of the lower primary schools charged a higher tuition for the upper grades. Two schools charged extra for children who came from outside the village.

The five villages that used a total of $620 from the sales taxes collected on vegetables, cotton, and medicine must have needed extra funds for their schools and turned to this special source for them.

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871 The total expenses of the 63 schools were reported as $13,920, an average of $221 per school and $6.90 per student. The amounts reported by the different schools varied from under $100 to $1,572. Seventy-three per cent of the schools spent less than $200. Only 11 per cent spent more than $25 per month, $300 per year.

According to the reports, the schools had a surplus of $2,780. The four schools with the highest incomes and expenses, evidently the higher primary schools, reported their combined surplus as $1,500. Two of the four had a surplus of more than $600. The highest was $628. We were not able to determine whether the surplus income was added to the school funds that were loaned at interest or whether it was used for other unreported expenditure. In spite of the reported overall surplus, 46 schools said their income was not sufficient to meet their budget.

The following table gives the distribution of the schools according to their income and expense.

Amount	*Income*	*Per Cent*	*Expense*	*Per Cent*
$ 50–99	4	6.4	5	7.9
100–149	17	26.9	21	33.3
150–199	19	30.1	20	31.7
200–249	6	9.5	4	6.4
250–299	5	7.9	6	9.5
300–349	3	4.8	2	3.2
350–399	3	4.8	–	–
400–449	2	3.2	1	1.6
Over 500	4	6.4	4	6.4
	63	100.0	63	100.0

The following figures show the distribution of the school expenses.

	Amount	*Per Cent*
Teachers' salaries	$7,760	55.8
Servants' wages	675	4.8
Books and apparatus	567	4.1
Other equipment	619	4.4
Miscellaneous	4,299	30.9
	$13,920	100.0

The average teacher's salary was just under $100 a year. Servants were hired by only 12 schools. Their largest possible average salary was $56 per year. For books, apparatus, and other equipment the average was

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only $19 per school or about 55 cents per student. The salary and equipment figures together give a picture of some of the problems of the Ting Hsien village schools.

As none of the schools had had a history of more than 25 years, 20 was the largest number of classes graduated by any primary school. That was one of the coeducational schools. But while 20 classes of boys were graduated only six classes of girls had completed the course. The other coeducational school had graduated 15 classes of boys but only two of girls. Most of the boys' schools had graduated from 10 to 15 classes, but none of the girls' schools had graduated as many as 10 classes. Three girls' schools and one boys' school had graduated no classes. One of the girls' schools was opened before 1922 but, as in the coeducational schools, was evidently having difficulty in getting the girls to complete the course. A similar story is told by the number of students graduated. The figures for 1926 and 1927 were:

	Lower Primary Schools			
	1926		*1927*	
	Classes	*Graduates*	*Classes*	*Graduates*
Boys	44	279	42	233
Girls	7	22	6	21
	51	301	48	254
	Higher Primary Schools			
Boys	3	55	3	41
Girls	1	3	1	5
	4	58	4	46

Only six primary schools graduated 10 or more students in 1926 and only four in 1927. None graduated as many as 20 students.

In the lower primary schools the graduation rate for the girls, 7.4 per cent, was less than half of that of the boys, 16.1 per cent. In the higher primary schools the rates were almost the same: boys 37.5 per cent, girls 36.5 per cent. Most of the girls who started the higher primary course went on to complete it.

The total number of graduates since the schools had opened was given as:

	Lower Primary	*Higher Primary*
Boys	3,757	530
Girls	308	50
	4,065	580

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871 The girls were 7.6 per cent of the lower primary and 8.6 per cent of the higher primary graduates. They were 14.6 per cent of the students in 1928.

The schools reported a total of 1,782 students—1,514 boys and 268 girls—who left school before graduating. Family finances were given as the cause of leaving for 1,601, "indifference to education" for 181. Thirty-two per cent of the girls were "indifferent to education" but only 6 per cent of the boys.

In 1926 there were 237 students who left before graduation—215 lower and 22 higher primary pupils. In 1927 the number was 208—203 lower primary but only five higher primary students. The average drop out rate was just over 10 per cent. The graduation rate was 16.4 per cent.

There were 304 persons, 272 males and 32 females, in the 62 villages who had graduated from a school higher than junior middle school. Seventy-three went no further than senior middle school, preparatory school, agricultural or technical high school. Two hundred and thirty-two had had work in normal school, college, or technical school. One hundred and fifty males and 25 females had graduated, nine men stopped before they finished their higher course, and 41 men and seven women were still in school in 1928. The graduates included 102 from normal and other teacher training schools and 39 from arts colleges or universities. Agriculture, law, medicine, military, and technical schools had from two to six graduates. We were interested to find that there were four returned students from Japan and one from France. One boy was studying in France and one in the United States. Our records do not show how many of this higher education group were living in Ting Hsien.

Normal school and other teacher training courses had been popular among the men graduates—82 of 150 had studied in that field—but, of the 41 men in college, only one was taking normal training.

The distribution of the higher education group, students and graduates, gave a very interesting picture of the 62 villages. There were 18 villages that had no one in the higher education group. Fourteen of these were small villages with less than 68 families. The other four had more than 155 families, the largest 293 families. In the Experimental District the average number of families per village was 168.

Only six villages had more than 10 men with higher education. Two of these, Chai Ch'eng and the neighboring market town of Tung T'ing,

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were the only ones with more than 15. Tung T'ing had 25 men. Chai Ch'eng, with 33, clearly showed the result of the long interest of the Mi family in education.

Only eight villages reported any women who had had any higher education. Eleven of the 32 women lived in Chai Ch'eng. The next largest number was five in Tung Wang. Fourteen of the 25 women graduates said they were employed in educational work but at the most only 10 of them could have been teaching in the schools in the 62 villages. One woman was a nurse. Ten were unemployed.

In only nine villages were there less than 20 families for each person with higher education. In three the ratio was less than 10 to one. We expected Chai Ch'eng to have the lowest ratio but it was third with 8.5. Hsi Chia Ying was second with a 5.5 ratio, 10 students and 55 families. Hsia Chi Cha Chuang was first with six students in 29 families, a ratio of only 4.8 families per student. Nothing that we can find in our records suggests why the two top villages should have such a low family-student ratio. The story of the model village Chai Ch'eng (see Chapter VIII) shows why it had such a high educational record.

TABLE 50. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 5,255 FAMILIES

	Attending		*Previously Attended*		*Total*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Total number	1,267	102	2,931	116	4,198	218
Age	*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*		*Per Cent*	
5–9	30.0	3.1	7.4	0.2	37.4	3.3
10–14	34.7	2.6	24.3	2.7	59.0	5.3
15–19	10.1	1.0	34.5	3.4	44.6	4.4
20 and over	0.5	0.1	21.3	0.4	21.8	0.5
5 and over	9.1	0.8	21.2	0.9	30.3	1.7

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 51. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE, 515 FAMILIES

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Primary school	155	24	208	22	338	46
Higher primary	21	1	69	6	90	7
Middle school	8	1	34	1	42	2
Above middle	9	–	3	–	12	–
People's school	16	3	4	–	20	3
Old style school	–	–	245	2	245	2
	189	29	558	31	747	60
Per cent of 5 years and over	11.9	2.0	35.2	2.2	47.1	4.2
Without people's and old style groups					30.4	3.8

Years Attended School

	Attending		Previously Attended		Total	
Years	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 4	116	23	223	20	339	45
4–6	44	2	182	7	226	9
7–9	15	1	97	3	112	4
10–12	6	–	30	1	36	1
13–15	4	1	16	–	20	1
Over 15	4	–	10	–	14	–
	189	29	558	31	747	60

TABLE 52. SCHOOL INCOME IN EXPERIMENTAL DISTRICT

Source of Income	*Schools*	*Amount*	*Per Cent*
Land rent	49	$6,805	40.7
Village land assessment	46	3,916	23.5
Village land transfer tax	50	1,840	11.0
Hsien subsidy	14	1,451	8.7
Interest	16	1,047	6.3
Tuition	44	1,021	6.1
Sales tax	5	620	3.7
		$16,700	100.0

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TABLE 53. SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS, 1928

	Schools			Students			Students per School
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Kindergarten[1]	–	–	1	11	29	40	40
Lower primary	317	100	417	12,458	2,840	15,308	37
Higher and lower primary	19	2	21	2,437	105	2,542	121
Higher primary	2	1	3	244	52	296	99
Middle	1	1	2	120	170	290	145
Normal	1	1	2	77	93	170	85
Vocational	1	–	1	20	–	20	20
Total or average	342	105	447	15,377	3,289	18,666	42

[1] Coeducational.

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TABLE 54. TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING STAFF, 1928

	Teachers			Students per Teacher	Staff		
	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	–	2	2	20	–	–	–
Lower primary	363	72	435	35	689	13	702
Higher and lower primary	77	6	83	31	51	–	51
Higher primary	10	2	12	25	7	–	7
Middle	20	4	24	12	4	2	6
Normal	13	2	15	11	6	–	6
Vocational	4	–	4	5	2	–	2
	487	88	575	32	759	15	774

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TABLE 55. STUDENTS GRADUATED, 1928

	Male	Female	Total	Per Cent
Kindergarten	10	22	32	80.0
Lower primary	1,421	128	1,549	10.1
Higher and lower primary	412	50	462	18.2
Higher primary	31	20	51	17.2
Middle	55	–	55	19.0
Normal	40	19	59	32.4
Vocational	20	–	20	100.0
	1,989	229	2,228	
Per cent of students	12.9	7.3	12.0	

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

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TABLE 56. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1928

	Property			*Expenditure*		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	$ 1,780	–	$ 1,780	$ 420	–	$ 420
Lower primary	373,285	$ 79,870	453,155	63,879	$18,303	82,182
Higher and lower primary	150,340	8,575	158,915	23,408	1,839	25,247
Higher primary	46,860	2,800	49,660	6,152	2,862	9,014
Middle	68,000	32,660	100,660	14,400	3,211	17,611
Normal	19,500	11,500	31,000	5,868	8,362	14,230
Vocational	8,800	–	8,800	4,430	–	4,430
	$668,565	$135,405	$803,970	$118,557	$34,577	$153,134

TABLE 57. SCHOOL PROPERTY VALUE AND EXPENDITURE PER STUDENT, 1928

	Property			*Expenditure*		
	Male	*Female*	*Total*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Kindergarten	–	–	$ 45	–	–	$ 10.50
Lower primary	$ 30	$ 28	30	$ 5.10	$ 6.45	$ 5.35
Higher and lower primary	62	82	63	9.60	17.50	9.90
Higher primary	192	54	157	25.20	55.00	30.40
Middle	567	193	345	120.00	19.00	60.70
Normal	253	124	182	76.50	90.00	83.50
Vocational	440	–	440	221.00	–	221.00
Average	$44	$41	$43	$7.70	$10.50	$8.20

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

782 selves were driven south of Ting Hsien. There was looting when the Fengtien forces left Ting Hsien, and more when they returned and recaptured the area after fighting inside the city walls. This is said to be one of the worst times in Ting Hsien in recent years. After they had one experience with the looting of the Fengtien troops, it is not to be wondered at that the people turned to their gods for protection against a repetition of that experience. The year 1928 was not included in the period of our study of special religious expenditure, so we have no report concerning special services that may have been held because of the fighting and looting of that year.

Three villages spent $440 praying for protection from sickness, an average of $147 per village. One village reported spending $600 during five years for services seeking protection from hail. This total probably included a large amount spent for some special item such as the renovation of the temple. Perhaps an annual service was held in anticipation of possible damage. Hail damaged the crops in both 1923 and 1926.

There was damage from floods every year from 1922 to 1926, but only one village in the Experimental District reported holding special services to ask for divine protection from that sort of damage. The expenditure was only $70, so probably only one, or not more than two, services were held during the five years.

The largest average expenditure was made in connection with reappearances of the gods. Three villages reported a total expenditure of $1,150, or an average of $385 per village, for such services. This amount probably included some expenditure for the renovation of the temples as well as the cost of the celebration services.

During the 12 years from 1915 to 1926, the record of calamities shows seven years with flood, three with drought, five with hail, seven with locusts, three with sickness, cholera or plague, one with frost, and three with looting.

511 The families in our budget study (see Chapter V) spent an average of 75 cents when they went to the temple fair, but most of that was for entertainment rather than for any religious items. Their expenditure for religion averaged 70 cents for the year, most of it for paper money and incense.

346 178 771 871 One wishes the records were available to show what special events or particular influences were connected with the erection of the various temples and what were the special periods of temple building and re-

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 NF12 North China NF12

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building. We know that the history of some temples goes back to Ming, Yuan, and even Sung times, but, for the present at least, the other questions cannot be answered for Ting Hsien. In order to determine how much of a change there had been in recent years, the village elders of the Experimental District were asked what temples they had in their villages, what temples they used to have, and when any discontinued temples had been given up. The comparison of the two lists showed a tremendous decrease. The fifty years from 1882 to 1932 were a period of temple destruction rather than of temple building or rebuilding. Increasing contacts with the outside world, modern education, and many other influences had apparently weakened the hold of the gods on the people, and through the years a large proportion of the temples had been given up, converted to other uses, sold, or torn down.

Before 1882 there were 435 temples in the 62 villages of the Experimental District, but in 1928 the number was only 104. Three hundred and thirty-one temples, 76 per cent of the original list, had been given up. Before 1899 only two temples were reported as being discontinued, one in 1882 and one in 1889. From 1899 through 1917 there were only two years when at least one temple was not given up. Those years were 1901 and 1903. Between 1917 and 1928 only two were discontinued, one in 1926 and one in 1928. Eighty-two per cent of the discontinued temples were given up during three years 1900, 1914, and 1915. Twenty-seven were destroyed in 1900, Boxer year, largely as a result of the foreign troops coming to Ting Hsien after the capture of Peking. Two hundred were discontinued in 1914 and another 45 were given up in 1915. The influence of the Revolution and of the magistrate Sun Fa Hsü seems to have been responsible for this big decrease. Taking office in May, 1914, Sun came to Ting Hsien with the idea of getting rid of many of the old customs and promoting modern education throughout the entire hsien. He put pressure on the village elders to get them to give up the temples and to open schools. This program was opposed by many of the villages. In one part of the hsien some 10,000 people joined the Catholic church hoping that thereby they might avoid the additional taxes that would be necessary to provide for the school budget. In this they were unsuccessful. Magistrate Sun was in office less than two and a half years, but during that time 68 per cent of the existing temples were discontinued. Forty-eight per cent of the schools of the Experi-

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mental District were opened during the five years from 1912 to 1916, practically all of them during the last two years of that period.

As money was not readily available for the erection of any considerable number of school buildings, the elders of not a few villages were willing to accept the suggestion of the magistrate that they turn some of the available and relatively little used temples into school rooms. Most of them had been built by popular subscription, so it was not difficult to turn them over to other uses if the village elders could be persuaded that the new uses were a public benefit. It is rather surprising, however, to find that even as early as 1914 the old beliefs had been so undermined that the people were able to see so many temples given up without too much fear of the wrath of the gods.

The rent of land that had been given to some of the temples was, in several cases at least, transferred from the temple to the village school as the popularity of the temple waned and the village was required to expand its educational program.

If the change in the number of temples in the Experimental District can be taken as typical of the entire hsien, there used to be some 3,575 temples in the 453 villages and some 2,000 of these were given up during 1914 and 1915 while Sun Fa-hsü was in office. This seems to be an almost impossible number, but there does not seem to be any reason why a larger proportion should be given up in the Experimental District than in the rest of the hsien. Even if the temples discontinued during those years were only one-half the estimated number, it still would show that new ideas brought in by the Revolution of 1911 and by Magistrate Sun had a tremendous influence on the external expression of the religious life of the hsien. As only two temples were given up between 1917 and 1928, the wave of anti-religious feeling that started as anti-Christian about 1921, but gradually became anti-all-religion as it reached its height in 1927–1928, seems to have had but little influence on the religious life of Ting Hsien. The movement centered in South and Central China and in the cities and, as far as we can see, did not greatly affect the rural areas of North China.

The 1882 list of temples in the Experimental District shows that all but one of the villages had one or more temples. The single exception was a village in which, in 1928, 72 per cent of the families were Mohammedans. Thirty-six per cent of the villages had from one to five temples, 48 per cent from six to 10, and 15 per cent had more than 10

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temples. Only one village had more than 17. For it the number was 22. The average was seven temples per village.

On the 1928 list 50 per cent of the Experimental District villages had no temples and only 6.4 per cent instead of 63 per cent had more than five temples. The maximum was 11. The average for all the villages was 1.7 or 3.4 for the villages that had temples.

While 30 villages had given up all their temples, seven still had the same number. One wishes it were possible to determine what were the differences in belief, experience, and contact with new ideas that led one village with 22 temples and another with 17 to give up all of them and one with 17 and another with 15 temples to discontinue all but one each while one village with 12 temples kept all but one and one village with seven temples and another with eight gave up none.

If we assume that the number of families in each village remained constant from 1882 to 1928, one village had, in 1882, one temple for every four families and there were six villages where there were less than 10 families per temple. In two of these six villages the number was still under 10 in 1928. In 1882 40 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families and 92 per cent had less than 50 families per temple. The maximum was 90, the average 24. In 1928 only 8 per cent of the villages had less than 20 families per temple. In only 13 per cent, instead of 92 per cent, was the number less than 50 families per temple. In six villages it was over 100 and in two it was over 345. The maximum was 362. One-half the villages had no temples. For the 62 villages the average number of families per temple was 100 or 10 more than the earlier maximum. For the entire hsien the 1930 average was 78 families per temple.

The village elders reported the 1928 use of 135, 41 per cent, of the discontinued temples. Fifty-seven were used for school buildings; another 25 were being used for other public purposes, such as village offices and public storehouses; 47 had been sold to private owners and probably had been torn down for the material in them; two were being rented out, the rent going to the public funds of the village; three had been torn down and the land added to the village public land; one had been turned over to some monks and was used by them as their residence.

More than a proportionate number of the larger temples were given up, possibly because they would provide better school accommodations,

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346 178 771 871 perhaps because of the cost involved in repairing them if they had fallen into disrepair. In 1928 83 per cent of the Experimental District temples had only one chien and only 3 per cent had more than three chien. In the 1882 list the corresponding figures were 70 per cent and 9 per cent. According to the earlier list the average number of temple chien per village was 15. In 1928 it was 2.8.

346 178 776 771 In 396 temples of the earlier list the gods were represented by images, in 31 by pictures painted on the walls. There were 2,157 images in the 396 temples, an average for the temples with images of 5.4. One-half of the temples had three images and another 14 per cent had only one image. Forty-eight temples, 12 per cent, had 10 or more images. The maximum was 116. Of these 48 larger temples, only six were maintained in 1928.

In 1928 there were 78 temples with images and 26 with pictures. The number of images was 404 or an average of 5.2. This was only slightly lower than the 1882 average. There was not more difference because one temple with 116 images was included in both lists. If that temple is omitted, the 1928 average was 3.7 images per temple. One would naturally expect a low average as 83 per cent of the temples on the 1928 list had only one chien and on a single altar there is hardly room for more than one large image or three smaller ones.

A comparison of the 1928 and 1882 lists shows that while 76 per cent of all the temples had been given up, 85 per cent of those with five or more images had been discontinued, 91 per cent of those with 15 or more, and 94 per cent of those with 20 or more images.

Because there are some 18 different names of Buddhist temples on the earlier list, but only five on the 1928 list, our first impression was that the non-Buddhist gods had the stronger hold on the people and that a larger proportion of the Buddhist temples had been given up than was true of the other groups. Further analysis of the figures showed that the opposite was true. The Taoist, Official, and Individual groups lost from 75 to 78 per cent of their temples but only 70 per cent of the Buddhist temples were discontinued. The difference is not large, but it would seem to suggest that the Buddhist gods or more especially Kuan Yin, to whom in her various manifestations some 91 per cent of the Buddhist temples are dedicated, had a stronger hold on the hearts of the people than most of the other gods.

Two-thirds of the temples dedicated to Kuan Yin had been given up

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941) 1948 AF12 North China AF12

If the father wishes to have his son become a merchant or a handicraft master, he sends him to school, old or new, for two to four years to memorize the written characters and learn simple arithmetic, and to work the abacus. At the end of the school years, the father inquires from his relatives and friends who are in business or are owners of workshops whether they are willing to take his son into apprenticeship. Life there is hard. If the boy is intelligent and good-natured, he may become a successful business man or skillful handicraft worker. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, quite a few persons have had this experience. The differentiation of labor among males began long before that among the females. Indeed, one may say that female differentiation of labor has not yet begun in this village.

There is a school with both lower and higher grades in P'ing-chiao-tsun. It occupies a section of the temple building. This in itself is interesting and may be taken as an indication of the changing attitude of the villagers toward temple worship. School education is secular and the temple is supposed to be sacred. It should be added, however, that the secularization of religious worship is an entirely different matter.[21]

There are at present three teachers in the school; one of them is the principal who is an old resident of P'ing-chiao-tsun and is quite permanent. The second one is a hired teacher who came from another district because of his teaching in this school. He has his sleeping place in a temple room and boards with the principal's family. The third one is the principal's brother's daughter.

In the last two years, the number of students, for which we have kept records, has varied from thirty to ninety. Many students are from villages other than P'ing-chiao-tsun. Thus, though its physical structure is in this village the school has its service extended to a wide area.

The maintenance of the school is not a local matter but the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks have a deeper interest in it than folks in other villages. The bureau of education in the city subsidizes it financially, while pupils from other villages as well as this village keep it func-

21 As an additional indication of the secularization of the function of the temple, it may be pointed out that a retail-store occupies the front-building of the temple. At first it was objected to by the villagers, but later on it was accepted. The school principal has the larger share of the capitalization of the business.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

871 tioning. Relations among students and between the principal and pupils are intimate. Many of them are relatives of the principal.

872 School subjects and texts are practically the same as in a city school of poor standing. Attendance is not strict. Teaching is not efficient. Collective recitation in a loud voice is still the most popular method in teaching language and civics.

When parents send their children to school, they have in mind that teachers will give their juniors a good training in knowledge and character. They may want a change in their children's occupation, but they certainly do not want any change in village mores and institutions.

873 178 Whether the old folks want it or not, this school has slowly but surely introduced the younger generations into the culture of a larger world. The texts they read have nothing about their own village customs. They have to read even the life stories of non-Chinese personalities. While informal education tends to conserve and thus forward cultural continuity, school education may lead the younger generations to give up their parents' ways of activity.

875 One more fact may be added. The school teacher who is a bit over thirty years of age is a very capable leader in the village. He is active both in and out of the village. Whenever officials, Chinese or not, happen to cause the villagers trouble, he is the person to help out and to negotiate with them. At home he tends to conserve the old ways, outside home he leads the villagers to new ways of activity. He is a marginal man, but his personality is well integrated.[22]

Social Communication

571 The degree of intimacy in the social relations of the villagers varies with the individual. Some are more communicative while others are less. Inside the village, there are circles of social contact and communication. Some of the contacts are voluntary while others are not. The leaders are naturally the foci of social orientation and public attention, but they may have separate as well as common followers. Some of the followers are nearer to the social focus

22 On the concept of marginal man, see R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," in E. W. Burgess (ed.), Personality and the Social Group, Chicago, 1929, pp. 64-77; also Everett Stonequist, The Marginal Man, New York, 1937.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

and wealth which his father once enjoyed. In our first revisit, he was undoubtedly the most influential man in the district. As principal of the school and deputy head of the *lien-pao*, he had both fame and power. For additional income he practiced medicine. He learned the old technique of medical treatment from his mother and the friends of his father. He tried to combine this old method with the new ways which he learned from his friend in the city. In his home, no one could fail to observe the amount of money he invested in medical supplies.

Returning to changes in the school, when Mr. H. was removed from his office as school principal, he had the desks and chairs which he said were his own moved back to his own home. A man of forty-five was sent by the Bureau of Education of the Municipal Government of Peiping to take his place. In addition, there were two teachers to teach a group of sixty boys and girls of six to fifteen years of age. Textbooks were replaced when the war was over. There was not any sign of Japanese influence left in the village.

On the whole, the villagers had kept their old ways of thinking, feeling and doing. Whatever superficial changes might have been introduced, they were formal and had slight effect on the belief and conception of life of the villagers. The old ways of the villagers had a high degree of persistency. While certain villagers may have had difficulty in surviving the external and the internal wars, their ways of doing, feeling and thinking may survive long and well.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

by modern changes arising from the impact of Western civilization on Ancient Cathay. Modifications in the structure and the functions of the guilds can best be understood when studied in relation to these newer developments.

The process of Euro-American culture diffusion in China began in the latter part of the eighteenth century when trade first started in South China. The first factories were built not long after the first trader arrived, and at the same time the missionary movement, with its educational, medical and evangelistic activities, commenced bringing hundreds, and later thousands, of devoted men and women who in every province and almost every county established centers of diffusion not only of the thoughts and attitudes of Europe and America but of the general cultural pattern represented by their respective nationalities. During the past twenty years the results of the political, economic and religious penetration of China have become increasingly marked. Mr. Roger S. Green, the present director of the Union Medical College in Peking, in his summary of what he considers the hopeful or progressive factors in the present situation in China, gives an excellent list of the marked changes resultant from the spread of Euro-American culture in China.[1] The points he lists are as follows:

(1) An increasing number of young men trained along Western lines of a type formerly used only as technicians or in dealing with foreigners are beginning to appear in positions of responsibility in nearly every walk of life in China.

(2) The rapid growth of education on the Western pattern. Monroe gives these general statistics for 1923 (the last available national statistics):[2] 6,500,000 children in government schools, 500,000 in mission schools.

[1] From *Addresses on China* at the Thirty-fourth Annual Session of Foreign Missions Conference of North America, Atlantic City, New York, January 11-14, 1926.

[2] Monroe, *China, A Nation in Evolution* (New York, 1928), p. 278.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM

*441 *467 ● 871 APPRENTICESHIP is the usual road to guild membership. Usually it is impossible to become a member without the training prescribed by the guilds. Students of one of the government schools in Peking who had been thoroughly trained in machine-shop work and had applied for positions in one of the local shops were rebuffed with these words: "You can't work on this job. You have never served an apprenticeship, and it is only after you have been a servant for three years that you can begin to learn something." [1]

A. EXTENT OF APPRENTICESHIP IN PEKING

This feature of the guilds, described by Morse, Williams, Macgowan and other writers on Chinese guilds as the apprenticeship system, is an essential part of the organization in nearly all of the guilds studied in Peking.

*441 *467 465 871 The sixteen craft guilds all have this system. Among the commercial guilds, the workers in the Pork and Mutton Shops and the Vegetable Merchants have no regular method of apprenticeship. The Mutton Shops have only untrained workers. The employees of the Pork Shops are classified as follows: first grade, those who buy and sell pigs, receiving $15 a month; second grade, those who kill pigs, receiving $11 a month; third grade, those who catch the pigs and scrape off the bristles, receiving $4.50 a month; fourth grade, those who do odd jobs and watch the inner doors, receiving a monthly payment of $1.50. To the fourth grade workers belongs the pigs' blood, which is purchased by the workers

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[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

from each store at the rate of 10 coppers ($.03) for each pig, and sold at a profit. Possibly this fourth grade work is a type of apprenticeship which is a stepping stone to the higher grades of work. To become a worker in the Vegetable Merchants Guild it is necessary to have a government license, but there is no term of required apprenticeship.

B. The Securing of Apprentices

The new apprentice comes with an introduction from a friend of a guildsman, or is merely introduced by his relatives to the shop or store head. In most cases it is necessary for the newcomer to have one or more guarantors who will vouch for his good behavior and see that the agreement or contract entered into with the craftsman or merchant is carried out. To become a Mat Tent Builder the new apprentice must have three guarantors. The usual practice, however, is for one person, either a relative or a friend, to act in this capacity.

In *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys,* by Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell, it is shown that the boys entering the trade come entirely from the country districts outside Peking. "The shop owners go into the country where they can find some one who will guarantee the boys."[1] The Peking employers prefer these country boys because "they do not make so much trouble." Mr. Chang reports that in the guilds with which he has come in contact "practically all" apprentices are from the country. Peking boys are not wanted because their families are near by and hinder their work. They are also less industrious than boys from the country. It is probable that in Peking there is a special situation which may not obtain in other places. There is in the city a very large Manchu population, many of them descendants of the

[1] C. C. Chu and Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., *Peking Rugs and Peking Boys* (Peking, 1924), pp. 29-30.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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retainers of the Court who were formerly kept alive by government doles of rice. It is generally considered that the Manchus in Peking are not so hardworking as the Chinese. There is also in Peking a tremendous amount of public charity, both of an indoor and an outdoor nature, which tends to draw to the city large numbers of persons who are not given to putting in a hard day's work.[1] The hardy villagers are better material than the poor of Peking. Furthermore, in recent years large areas of North China have suffered from famine, drought, flood, or military disturbances, which threw out of work large numbers of thrifty peasants. It is natural that in looking for good material for apprenticeship training the guildsmen should turn to these country districts as a favorable recruiting ground. The Mat Tent Builders, however, definitely require that their apprentices shall be "natives of Peking."

The Dye Stuff Stores report that "the apprentices are exclusively from among Shansi (Province) people." Such specific designation of the place from which the apprentice shall come is, however, very unusual in our reports.

C. Beginning Training

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It is customary in many of the guilds to have a written contract drawn up between the guarantors and the master who is to look after the training of the new recruit. This master may be the head of the shop or store, or merely one of the foremen or an ordinary workman of experience. In the professional guilds he is one who has mastered the profession to be taught. In this agreement the usual arrangement is that the parent or guarantor shall supply the clothes during the period of apprenticeship. In a few cases it is specifically stated that if the apprentice is too poor the store or shop will supply clothing. It is customary for the store

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *Peking: A Social Survey*, chap. xi.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

or shop to supply food and lodging for the apprentice, but there are a few exceptions to this rule. The Mat Tent Builders' apprentices provide their own food. This, however, is probably because these apprentices, unlike most others, receive from the first year a part of their wages. This sum increases proportionately each successive year of training. The apprenticeship contract also frequently includes a pledge on the part of the guarantor to repay either the whole or a part of the food expenses if the apprentice should quit his work before finishing the required term. In some cases not only must this re-payment be made but an additional fine must be paid by the guarantors if the apprentice fails to finish his term. We are informed by Mr. Chang (our investigator), however, that this rule is not usually carried out.

After the apprentice arrives to take up his work in certain of the guilds a formal procedure of bowing to the master is necessary. The Silk Thread Makers report that "the father brings the son to the master. After acknowledging the master by kowtowing (bowing with his head to the ground) to him the apprentice is admitted." The same ceremony is followed by the Confectionery Makers.

During the period of apprenticeship the master has full authority over the boy, not only acting as his teacher but taking the place of his father as one in absolute control of his activities.

During the time of his apprenticeship, the boy is entirely under the control of his master. He lives in his store, eats his rice, is subject to his discipline, does any work that is given him, and has a chance to go home only on vacation days or when there is a wedding or funeral in the family. All of the reports telling of the duties of the apprentice state that he is to sweep out the store, make his master's bed, do the cooking and other menial tasks, and then work at his trade.[1]

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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It is customary among the Paper Hangers to try out a worker for a short period to see whether he is of the material desired by the master. If he proves satisfactory during this preliminary trial he is formally accepted. "After a four months' trial, if satisfactory, the apprentice is accepted. In that case his parent or elder brother prepares a feast of several tables (one table ordinarily is designed for ten persons) to which he will invite the managers of shops and noted members. They are to be the witnesses and guarantors of the apprentice." The meaning of this reply is not entirely clear, but the last sentence probably means that important members of the guild, by coming to this feast, give their endorsement of the young apprentice and stand ready to help him in his period of training.

D. The Length of Apprenticeship

The usual period of apprenticeship is three years or three years and one festival, which amounts to three years and three months. Twenty-seven out of the thirty-seven guilds requiring apprenticeship have an apprenticeship period of this length.[1] The longest definite period of training mentioned is that of the Mat Tent Builders, which is seven years, while the shortest is three years. Several, however, are indefinite regarding the length required. The Story Tellers report that "as soon as he can recite on the platform, he may join the guild." There are several arrangements for the apprentices in the Blind Guild: "A blind boy applying to be an apprentice, must be accompanied by some one who introduces him, or he must present a written note of application. If any accident occurs to the apprentice the master will not be responsible. During the time of apprenticeship the master must teach him (story telling or fortune telling)." If the master does not thus teach him he must make some

[1] *Cf.* Table XII, p. 160.

4. Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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TABLE XII

THE TERM OF APPRENTICESHIP

	Craft	Commercial	Professional
3 years	3	13	
3 years, 3 months	10	1	
4 to 5 years			1[a]
3 to 6 years			2[b]
4 years	1		
6 years			1
7 years	1[c]		
As soon as skill or art is perfected	1[e]	1[f]	1[g]
Uncertain			1[d]
No apprentice system		3	2
Total	16	18	8

financial remuneration. "The apprentice must also learn his profession," otherwise he must make a payment to the master. "Formerly each apprentice was required to pay his master 600 coppers ($1.74) every month. Now he is required to pay only 200 ($.58)." "During this period of apprenticeship the master may bring the apprentice out to do business. The apprentice receives two coppers ($.005) out of every ten coppers ($.03) made." It is natural that there should be a special statement regarding accidents in the case of these blind minstrels who are in danger of being run down in the streets.

[a] Cooks. "Four to five years. Not definite."

[b] Barbers.

[c] The Mat Tent Builders.

[d] The Blind.

[e] Cloth Pasters.

[f] Confectionery Stores. "As soon as he is able to sell he gets a salary beginning at $1.00 or $2.00."

[g] Story Tellers. "As soon as he can recite on the platform."

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AFI2 North China AFI2

E. Remuneration and Hours of Work

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The general rule among the craft guilds is that the apprentice be given his food and lodging but no regular wage during his period of training. Apprentices of masters with no shops are not given food but are paid the lowest wages of unskilled laborers until the period of apprenticeship is completed. In commercial guilds a small monthly amount is frequently given to apprentices after the first year.

The apprentice is often given presents at the three principal festivals of the year if he has worked well. Many commercial guilds pay rather a large reward for good work at the end of the apprenticeship period. Confectionery stores have the custom of putting aside two coppers ($.01) a day for each apprentice to be used as "festival money." He is presented with forty or fifty coppers ($.12 or $.15) at two of the festivals [1] and at the New-Year with a special gift of one thousand coppers ($2.90). In this guild, as soon as the apprentice is able to "sell goods behind the counter, he is given a salary which begins at $1 or $2 a month." At the end of the apprenticeship period in the Dye Stuff Stores Guild the store presents the graduate with ten taels. The Hat Stores Guild gives a graded income, increasing it each year of the apprenticeship from $1 a month to $20 a month, the maximum at the end of the third year.

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In replies to our inquiry regarding hours of work there is a significant lack of data, which we take to indicate that in all probability the thought of definite hours has not occurred to most of the guildsmen — the hours being as long as there is light to do work. In studying the actual number of hours which the rug employees, both apprentices and workmen, put in, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell [2] found that

[1] *Cf.* p. 162.

[2] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

94.4 per cent of the 6,834 employed worked from twelve to fourteen hours a day, while 93.3 per cent of the same group worked seven days a week. A few Christian rug factories account for the 6.7 per cent of those that had one day's rest in seven. These hours are probably characteristic of the usual working hours of the apprentices, varying according to the season of the year.

The three principal festival times of the Chinese year that are reserved as holidays for the workers are: (1) the Chinese New Year season, which lasts for about ten days; (2) the Dragon Festival on the fifth day of the first month, which lasts about three days; (3) the Mid Autumn Festival on the fifteenth of the eighth month which also lasts about three days.

F. Age of Apprentices

Mr. Blaisdell in his study of the rug industry found boys as young as eight or nine years of age,[1] but the usual age of apprentices was eleven or twelve years. Mr. Gamble gives fourteen or fifteen years as the average age of the first year apprentices.[2] We have no data as to the age of the apprentices working in the stores in Peking. Undoubtedly the age varies in different industries, and also according to the conditions of famine, drought, flood and brigandage in country districts which would make it imperative for many small boys to find work in order to live. As there is no legislation regarding the age of workers and an always unlimited supply of workmen, one would naturally expect to find boys working at the earliest age wherever it is physically possible for them to carry on the activities required of apprentices. The masters, however, naturally prefer older and stronger boys who cost no more than younger boys who are not able to do much work.

[1] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p, 187.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

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G. Ceremonies Accompanying the Completion of the Period of Apprenticeship

There are certain procedures which the apprentice must observe after he has finished his term of service under the master. There are various means, especially in the craft guilds, by which the apprentice shows his gratitude to his teacher. It is natural that among the craft workers there should be special emphasis on this type of ceremony because, speaking generally, the craftsmen have learned much more from their teachers than the ordinary worker in the store would learn. He has become master of a special technique, while the store worker has merely learned the routine work of the business. The Awning Makers report that "at the time of graduation the manager of the shop (that is, the master) brings the apprentice to the guild to have him introduced to the other members. The apprentice presents to the guild five bundles of incense. The father or elder brother of the apprentice may or may not invite the master and the middlemen (those who originally arranged for the lad to be taken as an apprentice) to a feast. Evidently in this case the formal introduction to the guild gives the new graduate the full status of a journeyman. Unless this ceremony is performed he cannot receive the regular wage.

Among the Mat Tent Builders it is customary for the apprentice to supply two feasts in the honor of his teacher, one at the beginning of his fifth year of work, and one at the beginning of the seventh year. Wages are increased each time. The full journeyman wage is given only at the end of the seventh year. The date of inviting the guests and increasing the wages must be determined by the group (this refers to the practice of several apprentices of one shop banding together to give a joint feast to their masters). The food must be of very fine quality and prepared for tables of six persons each. If those attending the feast do

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not feel satisfied, more courses are added until complete satisfaction is given. During the feast the apprentice will kowtow to the master. After the feast he will go to the master's house and kowtow to the master's wife. She also is presented with choice food by the apprentice. This ceremony, which marks the end of the apprenticeship in the Blind Guild, is thus described: "When the apprenticeship is ended the apprentice will give a feast in the honor of his master. The persons who are invited are the friends of the master. The cost of the feast and presents will vary according to the home conditions of the apprentice. Those who come from poor homes will give the master several dollars. Those who are rich will present the master with clothes and his wife with ornaments. The contract will be burned in the presence of the guests."

The elaborate details of the initiation of apprentices into the full status of journeyman is given in the report from the Cooks Guild as follows: "After three or five years, when the term of apprenticeship has been completed, several of the masters gather together with their respective apprentices and formally sign a document which signifies that the apprentice has graduated or finished his term of training. The apprentice kowtows to his master and also to the guarantors, while his father or brother provides a feast of several tables for the party. The document that has been written must be in the handwriting of the master. Among the forms of thanking the master are: (1) the presenting of four hair pins to the master's wife; (2) the presenting of two bolts of cloth, a hat and a pair of shoes to the master, together with providing a feast for him; (3) the presenting of a hair pin called *Chiu-Lien-Luan* to the master's mother." The Tinkers report that "when the apprentice has finished his term of training, as a rule he invites the teacher to a feast which is attended by the officials of the various divisions of

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

the guild." The teacher in turn will supply the apprentice with a set of instruments for him to use. In this last case there is an exchange of gifts in the presenting of the instruments commonly used by the tinkers in their metal work. This is the final gesture before the apprentice becomes a full-fledged worker.

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H. Supplementary Education of the Apprentice

It is very evident from the material studied that in the ordinary duties of the shop or store there would be very little time for anything corresponding to the equivalent of school work for these lads. Their principal education is the knowledge of a craft or the general knowledge of the procedures of business in a store. Among the craftsmen only two guilds report any special training other than that in the craft. The Cloisonné Designers tell us that they teach the use of the abacus or counting board and writing. In the Table and Chair Makers Guild the apprentices are said to learn to keep accounts. The apprentices of all commercial guilds must learn to use the abacus and learn accounting. It is also essential in most of the stores that the apprentice know the rudiments of reading and writing before he enters upon his new occupation. We are told that in the Clock Stores they teach the apprentice French. The history of this trade, fostered by the French Fathers, would explain this special language training. In dealing with the French priests knowledge would be of value.

I. Appraisal of the Apprentice System

To a Westerner, who judges conditions from the standards which have developed in our modern industrial civilization, there are many features of the apprenticeship system that call for immediate criticism. But in considering the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

system with its social and economic background, we are forced to admit that it is very well adapted to Chinese life. Formerly only the children of wealthy merchants or of the more prosperous farmers had an opportunity to acquire an education, and this was of a classical and purely theoretical nature. "Education" consisted in a knowledge of the Chinese classics. "Vocational education" as such was unknown. The guild system gave to boys of ability whose parents were economically unable to allow them to study, an opportunity to learn a craft, trade or profession. The guild system relieved the family of the financial burden and prepared the boy for a future occupation. On the other hand, it supplied the Chinese merchants and craftsmen with an abundance of cheap labor. Recruited at an early age, boys who had three or more years of life in the shop and a knowledge of the ways of the craft became staunch guildsmen trained in the tradition of their group.

The guilds as an educational agency are most attractively and idealistically reflected through the words of the "Maxims and Rules for Apprentices" which are printed in *Peking: A Social Survey*.[1] In these maxims thrift, economy and courtesy are taught. The apprentices are urged to be of inquiring spirit and to learn how to endure hardship, and also to learn how to get on satisfactorily with their fellow men. One would think after reading these passages that the guild was primarily designed to train these young men in moral character. No doubt in many shops and stores this training is carried out successfully.[2]

In greatest contrast to the principles and ideals embodied by these rules is the description of actual conditions among apprentices in the rug industry of Peking.[3] It

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 440 and Appendix.

[2] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-9.

[3] Chu and Blaisdell, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-39.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

must be said, however, that this industry was studied at the time of the breaking up of the guild and represents the low-water mark of ancient Chinese industrial organization. The Peking rug shops are shown as places to which boys recruited from the country districts are brought to work for three years under crowded and unsanitary conditions; then, for the most part, they are dismissed without hope of future employment, to give place to other boys who will in turn spend three years in this blind-alley profession. In the whole industry there is an average of 2.86 apprentices for each worker. "Only 25.88 per cent of the employees are skilled workers." This proportion of apprentices to workmen is not usual in Peking. Mr. Gamble's study reveals that in 1919 in the guilds the average was one apprentice to every three workmen, while a detailed study of the stores and shops in one district in Peking shows that the proportion was one apprentice to 5.8 workers.[1] These figures show the abnormal conditon of the rug industry.

In the rug industry the apprentices, working to the maximum of physical strength, are compelled to eat, sleep and work in rooms with poor light, with the air filled with cotton lint; to sleep on boards spread on the ground, and to eat their meals from bowls placed on the dirt floor adjoining their loom. Although many of the primitive conditions of this industry may no doubt be found in other guilds, Mr. Chu and Mr. Blaisdell were dealing here with an industry in which foreign competition had wrought havoc with the old guild precedents and where the harmonious relationships of the old shop were made difficult because of the severe competition which arose when the guild organization broke down.

A true appraisal of the life of the apprentice would probably fall somewhere between the extremely rosy picture re-

[1] Gamble and Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-8.

4: Brugess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

their strike in 1926 made demands which included the paying of wages to apprentices and the limitation of the proportion of apprentices to journeymen.

Certain of the provincial guilds are combining to form industrial unions. Dr. Chen describes the difficulty in overcoming provincial feeling among the employees of the shipping industry. Chinese seamen are for the most part from Canton, Ningpo and Tientsin. The attempt to organize these three groups into one industrial union has not proved very successful up to date. To use Dr. Chen's expression: "The clannishness of the Chinese is proverbial and their habits are hard to change."

6. THE APPRENTICE SYSTEM IS UNDERGOING MODIFICATION

Certain types of modern education are undermining the power of the guild master to control the apprentice system. For example, the vocational training schools in Shanghai and vicinity are teaching trades by using modern methods of instruction. Unfortunately the graduates of these schools are sometimes refused admission to the guilds on the ground that they have not gone through the usual apprentice period. Partly in order to solve this problem, the schools are inviting masters of trades to teach a few hours a week, in the hope of making a nexus between the school and the industry.

7. MODIFICATION OF THE GUILD SYSTEM OWING TO MODERN CHINESE LAW AND REGULATION

In former times the government took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the guilds, allowing them to control trade and commerce very much along their own lines. In recent years, especially since the founding of the Republic, there has been an increasing tendency to regulate trade and industry.

In this study we have noted the objection on the part of the Peking police to the inflicting of punishment on their own members by guildsmen. The endeavor on the part of the

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

A. The Values of the Guild System

Without re-emphasizing[1] the socially harmful aspects and inherent limitations of these ancient institutions, certain of the values or socially beneficial features of guild life at its best may be summarized as follows:

1. Personal face-to-face relationship in local shops or stores that made possible friendly understanding between masters, journeymen and apprentices.

2. The relatively easy adjustment of difficulties between the employer and the employees and the absence of any considerable amount of class strife.

3. The equalization of opportunity afforded by the guild system for the capable to pass through the apprentice and journeymen stages to the position of master.

continuance under a Republican system of the Board of Censors composed of aged and respected officials who restrain and advise those actually in control of the Peking Government. The advocacy by the Peoples Party of the "Committee System" of government control corresponding to the village and town method of control by groups of elders and gentry, is another illustration of the incorporation of a very old and familiar governmental method in a Western-style political system. The plan of rotating chairmen in this Committee System is similar to that of guild organization.

The aim of the progressive Chinese leaders of the Christian Church is to create an "indigenous Church." Forms and ceremonies out of harmony with China's structural heritage are being discarded, and adaptations in Church organization and modes of worship are being made.

The necessity for reorganizing the educational system, which has been largely a direct copy from the West, and of adapting education to China's needs is recognized by such progressive educators as Dr. Chiang Men Lin, formerly Chancellor of the National Government University in Peking.

Remarkable efficiency and ingenuity in combining Chinese educational material with efficient Western educational method have been manifested by James Y. C. Yen and his corps of Western-trained Chinese educators in the Mass Education Movement, which in its organized classes throughout the provinces has enrolled over two million persons for the study of textbooks based on one thousand selected characters.

[1] *Cf.* p. 213.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION

1. General.

871 797 Some years ago Ching Ho was well provided with educational facilities. There was a public school of six grades accommodating about one hundred pupils; the Presbyterian Church maintained a boys' school and a girls' school of the lower primary type; the Mohammedans had their own school for teaching their language and bible, and there was also a private school run by Dr. Wang of the town. At the time of the survey the missionary schools, had been closed for about two years, and Dr. Wangs school closed just about the time the survey started, because Dr. Wang himself was too busy with his professional work and Party business to carry on the school work also. Therefore, at the time when the enquiry was made there was only one regular school open, and that was supported by public funds and controlled by the political authorities, The Mobammedan school was still open, but its influence does not extend beyond the mohammedan community itself.

871 658 However, during the course of our survey a very interesting experiment was made in Ching Ho by the Party authorities. After taking control of the political machinery and finances in Ching Ho, they made several enquiries and found that in most of the

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

village schools the old type of teacher was still employed to teach the Confucian texts, and so they decided to open a school to train teachers to serve in the villages under the political headquarters of the Fifth district of Wan Ping Hsien. Although the experiment was not particularly successful, yet it is very important as an experiment, because previously teachers for rural schools have always been trained in the cities, and no town of the size of Ching Ho has done anything towards training teachers for its own schools.

The adequacy of a public school as an institution for improvement can only be measured by the percentage of literates in the in the town, and by the percentage of children of school age who are registered as pupils. The store population will naturally have a high percentage of literates because every clerk should be able to write a bill or make out an account, and all apprentices learn to do this. The following table gives a summary of literacy of the store population over ten years of age. We heve taken ten as the dividing line because children below that age still have a good chance of learning to read and write :—

TABLE XLIX. LITERACY OF STORE POPULATION

Literacy.	Total		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Cannot read	180	31.0	138	25.3	42	100.0
Can read	154	26 3	154	28.5	0	0
Can write	250	42.7	250	46.2	0	0
Total	584	100.0	542	100.0	42	100.0
Unknown	2		2			

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When we consider the percentage of children attending school we find the mumber is very low, 45. 4%, which is largely due to the small number of girl pupils—21. 2% as against 62. 3% for boys. 871

TABLE LI. PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN IN SCHOOLS

SCHOOLING	TOTAL		MALE		FEMALE	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
In schools	88	45.4	71	62.3	17	21.2
Not in schools	106	54.6	43	37.7	63	78.8
Total	194	100.0	114	100.0	80	100.0

2. The Public school.

The history of the public school has been continually influenned by the social changes in the town. During the half year of tbis survey the school administraton and teaching staff was changed four times. Founded in 1901 as a district public school and supported by all the thirty four villages of the fifth political district of Wan Ping Hsien, the school has now become purely a town school financed entirely by the taxes collected from the sale of grain. At the beginning of the academic year of 1928-9 there were two teachers for the five grades covering about 70 students. The principal of the school was a political and commercial leader in the town, and as he was in some kind of personal 872

consecutive grades from first to fifth, and the pupils were re-classified according to their ability. Many new pupils were admitted at the beginning of the Snring term bringing the members up to 12 . The distribution of students in the grades is as follows:

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TABLE LII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

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GRADE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
First	50	35	15
Second	29	25	4
Third	18	16	2
Fourth	14	14	0
Fifth	15	15	0
Total	126	105	21

The first grade class is large, and the numbers cannot be increased without sub-division. The second grade has just sufficient pupils, and the higher grades still have some vacancies. This means that the school is being used to its fullest capacity, and further increase in the number of pupils would mean the sub-division of classes and the appointment of more teachers.

It is interesting to notice that the majority of the girls are in the First grade, and not a single girl is registered in the Fourth and Fifth grades. This may either be due to the lower ability of the girls, or

87/ from the fact that their parents do not like their older daughters mixing with the boys in the higher grades.

TABLE LIII. AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
5	1	1	0
6	6	5	1
7	8	4	4
8	12	8	4
9	11	10	1
10	25	22	3
11	26	21	5
12	15	12	3
13	7	7	0
14	10	10	0
15	5	5	0
Total	126	105	21

Most of the pupils are still within the "school age"—as it is defined by the educational authorities in China, that is six to eleven years inclusive. Only one boy is below, and twenty boys above the age, while all the girls come within the specified period.

[463] Another interesting point on which we made en-

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

quiries was the occupation of the parents, as this has a bearing on he objectives and curriculum of the school. As the school is situated in a town we should expect that a good number of the parents would be occupied in trade. This is the case in Ching Ho where we found that the parents of 41% of the pupils were engaged in some sort of trade. The distribution is as follows :

TABLE LIV. OCCUPATION OF PUPILS' PARENTS

OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF PUPILS	%
Trade	51	40.5
Industry	30	23.8
Farming	21	16.7
Unemployed	8	6.3
Pedlers	6	4.8
Officials	4	3.2
Military service	4	3.2
Teaching	1	0.8
Doctor	1	0.8
Total	126	100.0

From a study of this table we can safely say that Ching Ho's educational need is more commercial than agricultural, although of course, an educational centre should cater for the needs of all its neighbours.

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871 At present there are only seven pupils who come from outside the town, but if the school settles down we naturally expect that more farmers' sons and daughters will want to come into the town for their education.

Under the new administration the curricula has also been revised. Formerly, the three R's with a few hours general knowledge and music comprised the whole schedule, but now almost every subject taught in the best public schools is given, includlng the national spoken language, handicraits, nature study, history, geography, and personal bygiene; Party principles and English have also been introduced.

TABLE LV. CURRICULA OF DIFFERENT GRADES (WITH HOURS PER WEEK)

	GRADE 1	GRADE 2	GRADE 3	GRADE 4	GRADE 5
Arithmetic	6	6	6	6	4
Common knowledge	6	6	3	3	0
Mandarin	7	7	6	6	6
Exercises	3	3	3	3	3
Party Principles	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	2	2	2	2
Drawing	1	1	1	1	2
Handicraft	1	1	1	1	2
Nrture study	0	0	2	2	2
Social study	0	0	3	3	0
Abacus	0	0	0	0	2
Geography	0	0	0	0	2
History	0	0	0	0	2
Composition	0	0	0	0	2
English	0	0	0	0	2
Personal hygiene	0	0	0	0	1
Total	28	28	29	29	34

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Under the new administration the total budget for the year is $1,152. Formerly the funds for the school were contributed by the thirty four villages of the district, but later a 1% rax was charged on grain sales for the purpose of supporting the police and the schools, the total amount from this source amounting to about $600 a year. Since the advent of the Financial Committee the taxes have been pooled for the support of all local needs, excepting the road tax amounting to about $400 which was specially earmarked for schoor funds, but this single source is still too low to cover the current budget. Plans are being made to increase the road tax and to decrease the expenses of collection, and the necessay balance will be provided by the larger stores in Ching Ho for the time being.

The expenditure of the budget is very simple. The principal who is a native of an adjacent village and a political leader does not receive any monetary payment except his boarding expenses of $7. The whole budget is as follows:—

TABLE LVI. SCHOOL BUDGET, 1929

EXPENDITURE	MONTH	YEAR
Salary for teachers	60	720
Wages for servant	7	84
Boarding of principal	7	84
Subsidy for cook	2	24
Equipment and repairs	10	100
Miscellaneous expenses	10	100
Total	96	1,152

Salaries for teachers are graded; the two who teach in the lowest grades receive $15 a month while the teacher in the higher grades receive $30 a month. The last two items on the budget are only calculated

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

newspapers some time during the year is possibly a fair index of the literacy of the older generation. The number was 134, or 47 per cent of the families. All of the families with incomes over $100 a month bought newspapers; more than three-quarters of the families with incomes between $40 and $100 a month; but only one-quarter of those with incomes of less than $40. For 20 families, the expenditure was less than 5 cents per year; for 61, almost half the families reporting, the amount was less than 5 cents a month; and for 73 families, it was less than 10 cents a month. For only seven families was it more than $1 a month; and only one family spent more than $2 a month. It is evident, therefore, that few of the families could have been regular subscribers. Furthermore, the monthly figures show that few families bought newspapers every month of the year.

The number of children in school seems to be a good indication of the literacy of the younger generation. Sixty-two boys and 31 girls attended school some time during the year. This was about one-quarter of the children of school age. There were also 15 adults who were studying. Eighty-two families, 30 per cent, had one or more members going to school. Six of these families paid no tuition. For 14 families, the tuition was for an adult member, rather than for a child. As with newspapers, a sharp dividing line for school expenditure seems to be drawn between the groups receiving more than $40 a month income, and those receiving less than that amount. Below that amount, only 11 per cent of the families paid anything for tuition; but more than 55 per cent of the families receiving more than $40 a month paid something for school fees. The amounts paid for tuition

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

varied from 11 cents to $535.25. These amounts did not include the expenditure for books and supplies, but did include, for several families, the cost of board as well as tuition. No attempt has been made to distinguish between these two items, but the number of cost consumption units in the family was adjusted to allow for the absence of the children boarding with the school. Of the families spending the largest amount for education, one had a son in Soochow University; another had a son in Cheeloo University in Tsinan; a third had two sons in college, one in Cheeloo and one in Yenching University. One family had an eighteen-year-old son and three younger girls attending school.

In Yenching University, the charge for tuition is $80. Room and board for the academic year is approximately $130, the amount varying somewhat with food prices and with the type of room. In the elementary schools, the tuition apparently amounted to 30 cents, 50 cents, $1, and $1.50 a month, although the monthly accounts seemed to show that many of the families, especially those in the lower income groups, paid tuition only part of the year. We did not discover whether this meant that the children attended school only part of the year, or whether the families were paying a small tuition fee in several instalments.

Communication

Communication expenses include ricksha, street-car and railroad fares, the purchase and upkeep of bicycles, operation of automobiles, rent of telephones, expenditure for postage, telegrams, et cetera.

Two hundred and twenty-nine families, 81 per cent,

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

shown in Table 50. Excluding the two daughters-in-law-to-be, the earliest age of marriage was 14. Most girls were married before 20 and none of them among this group of families were married after 21. The difference of age between husband and wife is about 2 years either way.

The educational standard of the various classes of workers differs from one another. For instance, the work of the assistants is such that they all should receive some education and consequently no illiterate could be found among their class. Table 51 shows the distribution of literacy and illiteracy of the 50 workers to be 34 and 16 respectively. The percentage of illiteracy was higher among firemen and common workers than in the other two classes.

Table 51.—Literacy and Illiteracy of 50 Resident Workers

Class of workers	Total number of workers investigated	Illiterates	Literates	
			Those who can not read newspaper	Those who can read newspaper
Machanics	10	1	3	6
Firemen	4	3	—	1
Assistants	7	—	1	6
Common workers	29	12	10	7
All classes	50	16	14	20

It was further found that out of the 50 workers, 20 had received no education whatsoever, while the others were either graduates of primary schools or of private schools. Only seven of them were found at the time of investigation to attend the Workmen's School of the factory, the others being contented with little or no education.

The income of the Pacific workers as has been mentioned, is derived from four different sources (1) wages (2) allowance for working overtime (3) extra month's pay and (4) commutation of gifts. All these items of income of the 50 resident workers were confined to the yearly period, July 1926 to June 1927 and